Vol. XX. No. 77 March 1931

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. The "Rerum Novarum" after Forty Years *Henry Somerville*
II. World Economic Crisis and "Rerum Novarum" *John Busteed*
III. Cardinal Wolsey, Educator .... *T. Corcoran*
IV. Beginnings of Latin Culture in Ireland .... *Eoin MacNeill*
V. Irish Bishops in Newfoundland, 1794-1893 .... *P. W. Browne*
VI. The Space we live in .... *Henry V. Gill*
VII. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 17 .... *Lambert McKenna*
VIII. The Origin of Irish Nature Poetry .... *Gerard Murphy*
IX. The Miracle of Modern Thought .... *Arthur Little*
X. The Tragedy of the Grande Chartreuse *V. M. Crawford*
XI. How to see Ireland on foot .... *D. Donnelly*
XII. American Catholic Historical Association *James J. Walsh*
XIII. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Single Copies - - - - 3s. 6d. net
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net
Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

Why do Doctors, Hospitals, Nursing Homes and Clinics Use Modern Gas Fires?

IN THE AREA OF ONE GAS UNDERTAKING ALONE

5,412 Doctors use gas fires as compared with 2,484 in 1912.

586 Nursing Homes use gas fires as compared with 114 in 1912.

247 Hospitals use gas fires as compared with 84 in 1912.

Westminster Hospital, London, recently re-equipped, has 203 gas fires in use for wards, medical officers' rooms, and every bedroom in the adjacent nursing home.

St. Thomas's Hospital, one of the largest in London, has more than 250 gas fires and ventilated gas steam radiators in its wards.

Gas fires are also installed in the premises of the following leading national societies interested in Medicine and Public Health: The Sunlight League, The Institute of Hygiene, The Royal Institute of Public Health, The New Health Society, The Society of Medical Officers of Health and The Medical Society of London.

The Modern Gas Fire is the Healthiest Fire in Existence

See the latest models in our Showrooms

GAS SERVICE DEPARTMENT

10 HAWKINS ST., DUBLIN

48 Up. George's St., Dun Laoghaire ; 109 Main St., Bray.

Central Heating

Urquhart (British) Oil Burning Equipment.

Ventilation
Structural Steelwork
Gates and Railings
Art Metal Work in Iron and Bronze

Send Your Enquiries to

MUSGRAVE & Co. (DUBLIN) LTD.

Estimates Free.

19 Eustace Street.

Telegrams "CENTIGRAD." **'Phone 22641.**

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mbéarla le fágail i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh, ar gach daimh léiginn dá mbaineann le hollscoil Náisiúnta na hÉireann. Tá Cúrsaí iomlána le fágail i nGaedilge freisin ar Riomaireacht, Staid, Tíreolaíocht, Tráchtáil, Cúntasaíocht, Geilleagair agus Oideachas.

Tairgeann an Coláiste Scoláireachta coitcheanntacha ar fiú **£1,500** sa mbliadain agus len a choir sin cuirtear **£1,000** i n-airgid gach bliadain le h-agaid Scoláireacht do Gaedilgeóirí ar an nGaedhealtacht.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labairt na Gaedilge do chleachtaod taod isteach agus taod amuich den Choláiste.

Tuilleamh eoluir le fágail ó Mheadhánaighe an Choláiste.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GALWAY

University College, Galway, provides full Courses in English in all Faculties of the National University of Ireland. It also provides courses in Irish in Mathematics, History, Geography, Commerce, Accountancy, Economics and Education.

It offers ordinary scholarships value **£1,500** a year, and in addition thereto scholarships for native speakers of Irish value **£1,000** a year.

Students of the College have unique opportunities of becoming fluent speakers of Irish.

For further particulars apply to the Registrar.

NATIONAL CITY BANK

(Affiliated to the Bank of Ireland) LIMITED

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED, £406,018 **CAPITAL PAID-UP, £203,018**

TRUSTEE AND EXECUTOR DEPARTMENT

Daily, it is becoming more and more difficult to get reliable and competent persons to undertake the duties of Trustees and Executors—duties which are often of a trying and arduous nature. The employment of Professional Trustees is, therefore, becoming more popular.

This department of the Bank places at customers' disposal the services of a highly efficient organisation for the conduct of these duties, including Investment, Supervision, and Distribution. The fees are reasonable: the service reliable and secret.

THE BANK TRANSACTS EVERY DESCRIPTION OF BANKING BUSINESS

Brochure giving full particulars of the Trustee and Executor Department may be had from The Bank, The Bank of Ireland, or any of its Agents.

O'K.

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company, Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, MOTOR, &c. &c.

Registered and Head Office: **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C 1.**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000.

DIRECTORS—

SIR THOMAS HENRY GRATTAN ESMONDE, BART., Chairman.
LAURENCE W. MARTIN, Esq. | PHILIP H. GRIERSON, Esq.
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WICKLOW.

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.
The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital.

PROPOSAL FORM AND ALL INFORMATION ON APPLICATION TO COMPANY'S AGENTS, OR TO **T. C. MACDOUGALD, Manager & Secretary.**

THE HIBERNIAN FIRE :: AND GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED :: ::

ESTABLISHED 1908.

HEAD OFFICES. 48 & 49 Dame St., Dublin.
BRANCHES: Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Tralee.

The Leading Irish Insurance Company for :
FIRE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, MOTOR CARS, THIRD PARTY, FIDELITY GUARANTEE, BURGLARY, AND PLATE GLASS

Secretary - - P. J. O'SULLIVAN, F.C.I.I.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK

A Constituent College of the National University of Ireland

Courses for Degrees and Diplomas in—

ARTS	MEDICINE	LAW
CELTIC STUDIES	DENTISTRY	EDUCATION
SCIENCE	DAIRY SCIENCE	ENGINEERING
	COMMERCE	

Full particulars as to the Conditions and Cost of obtaining these Degrees and Diplomas, with all other information as to the College, its facilities and Scholarships, may be obtained on application to THE SECRETARY.

The College has a number of valuable SCHOLARSHIPS, full particulars of which can be obtained on application to THE REGISTRAR at the College.

The College has playing grounds, 15 acres in extent, available for all kinds of games.

The Honan Hostel provides comfortable accommodation for Catholic Men Students at a very moderate charge. Chapel and Resident Chaplain. For full particulars apply to THE WARDEN.

La Retraite is a similar institution for Catholic Women Students. Further particulars can be had on application to THE REV. SUPERIORESS.

A List of Recognised Lodgings, approved by the President and the Officers of Residence, is available for the use of Parents and Guardians. Apply to THE SECRETARY.

SANDS & CO.

THE LOVE OF GOD. St. Francis de Sales' treatise, abridged by the Sisters of the Visitation, Harrow-on-the-Hill. Preface by the Right Rev. ABBOT E. C. BUTLER, O.S.B.; and Introduction by His Eminence Cardinal BOURNE. Price, **7s. 6d.** net.

MY SINS OF OMISSION. An average Catholic's Examination of Conscience (ET PAR OMISSIONS. Crowned by the French Academy). By JACQUES DEBOUT. Translated by J. F. SCANLAN. Price, **2s. 6d** net.

PRAYER FOR ALL TIMES. Vol. III. By the Rev. P. CHARLES, S.J. Translated from the French by MAUD MONAHAN. Price, **5s.** net. Uniform with Vols. I and II.

RELIGIOUS MUSIC. By Professor AIGRAIN. Translated and augmented by a section on English and Irish Religious Music by the Very Rev. CORNELIUS MULCAHY, Professor of English Literature, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Price, **5s.** net.

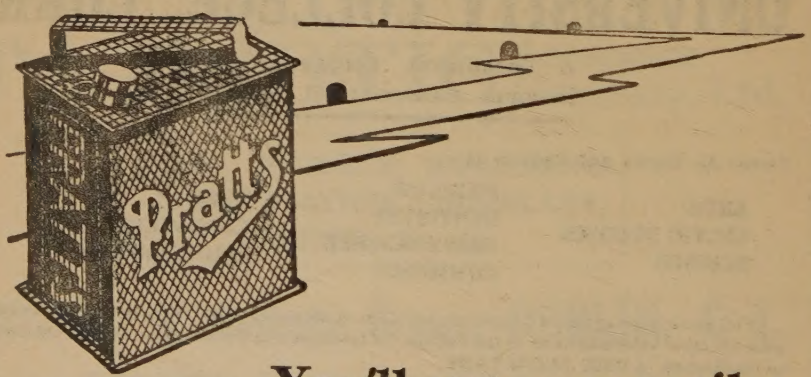
THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN. With Expositions of each chapter. By the Rev. ROBERT EATON. With a Preface by the Rev. T. E. BIRD, D.D., PH.D. Price, **3s. 6d.** net.

WHERE IS THY GOD? A Series of Spiritual Lectures. By the Very Rev. Fr. JAMES, O.S.F.C. Price, **5s.** net. "Its form can challenge comparison with the best in modern spiritual literature, and in matter it is far and away beyond them . . . . a source of inspiring thoughts for ordinary daily life."—*Studies.*

MEDIAEVAL SPIRITUALITY. By the Rev. F. VERNET. Translated by the BENEDICTINES OF TALACRE ABBEY. Price, **3s. 6d.** net.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. By V. E. MASSON, O.P. Translated by SISTER M. HYACINTH, O.P. Price, **3s. 6d.** net.

LONDON : 15 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.
EDINBURGH : 37 George Street. GLASGOW : 76 Cambridge Street.



You'll get more miles from every gallon if it's

PRATTS

IRISH-AMERICAN OIL COMPANY, LTD.
1 & 2 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

BY THE VERY REV.

LOUIS C. FILLION, S.S.

Authorised Translation by the Rev.

NEWTON THOMPSON, S.T.D.

Large Octavo. 3 Vols. Each, cloth 16s. Postage 1s. Complete 48s.

"The work deserves unstinted praise."—*Catholic Book Notes.*

"One may claim that no one has undertaken to write a Life of Christ more provided with material than Fillion."—*The Month.*

"There is the stamp of the theologian, the philosopher, the historian and the Biblical Scholar all in one.—*The Catholic Gazette.*

B. HERDER

33 QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

"Irish Messenger" Pamphlets

2d. each.

Over three hundred and fifty titles, covering a wide range of subjects:

DEVOTIONAL, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, etc.

Catalogue for 1930 *gratis and post free on request.*

Among recent issues are:

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS. By Rev. L. Gallagher, S.J.
ST. PASCHAL BAYLON. By Mrs. Thos. Concannon, M.A., D.Litt.
THOUGHTS ON REPARATION. By Rev. W. Peers-Smith, S.J.
THE PRACTICE OF REPARATION. By Rev. W. Peers-Smith, S.J.
ST. GREGORY THE GREAT. By E. Almedingen
THE POWER OF PRAYER. By Rev. T. Hurley, S.J.
THE CHURCH IN NORTH AFRICA. By Rev. T. Johnston, S.J.

"Irish Messenger" Office, 5 GREAT DENMARK STREET, DUBLIN, C. 16.

"Every week there appears a splendidly edited paper called THE TABLET which is acknowledged by Catholics and non-Catholics to be the representative Catholic paper in England."
Stella Maris

THE TABLET can be had, on order, from any newspaper shop anywhere, 6d. per week, or direct from THE PUBLISHER, THE TABLET, Tablet House, 6 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. Post free for 52 weeks for 30s.; 26 weeks, 15s.; 13 weeks, 7s. 6d.

Send a post card for a specimen copy.

THE CLERGY REVIEW

is a practical, constructive magazine for the Pastoral Clergy; devoted to the reasoned exposition of doctrine and practice; neither controversial nor merely defensive.

It covers all departments of sacred learning and matters ancillary thereto

Moral Theology — **Comparative Religion**
Canon Law — **Sociology**

Controversy and Apologetics are bound to find a place in the pages of the CLERGY REVIEW, but it will insist rather on positive teaching.

The attack on the Church is changing. It is vital to keep in touch with current thought.

The Clergy will find that there is nothing more useful to them in periodical literature than

The CLERGY REVIEW.

It appeared with the commendation of His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, His Eminence Cardinal MacRory, and the Archbishops **Cardiff, Tuam, Cashel, Birmingham and St. Andrews and Edinburgh.**

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

comprises the Presidents of the English Seminaries at home and abroad, under the chairmanship of His Grace ARCHBISHOP DOWNEY. The Joint Editors are:

The Right Rev. Mgr. E. Canon MYERS, M.A.
(President of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware),
The Rev. T. E. FLYNN, Ph.D., M.A.
(Vice-President of St. Joseph's College, Upholland)

with the collaboration of the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon GEORGE, D.D., Ph.D., and the Rev. JOHN T. ARENDZEN, D.D., Ph.D., M.A.

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST OF EACH MONTH.

Annual Subscription £1 (or $5), post free to any part of the world.

Full prospectus, in the format of the CLERGY REVIEW, will be gladly sent by the Manager: The "UNIVERSE," 1 Arundel Street, London, W.C.2.

BOOKS FOR LENT

MEDITATIONS OF A HERMIT

The Spiritual Writings of CHARLES DE FOUCAULD, Hermit of The Sahara and Apostle of the Tuaregs. Translated from the French by CHARLOTTE BALFOUR. With a Preface by RENÉ BAZIN, of the Académie Française. Crown 8vo. : : Cloth, **6s.**

LEADING MEDITATIONS ON THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

By the Rev. CHARLES F. BLOUNT, S.J. Crown 8vo. : : **3s. 6d.**

CHRIST IN THE LENTEN GOSPELS AND THE NEED OF RELIGION

Nineteen Short Discourses suitable for Lenten Reading. By Father BAMPTON, S.J. : : : : : **5s.**

LENTEN MEDITATIONS

By Mother CLARE FEY, Foundress of the Society of the Poor Child Jesus. Crown 8vo. : : : : Cloth, **5s.**

MEDITATIONS ON THE LIFE AND PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Attributed to JOHN TAULER, Dominican Friar. Translated from the Latin by A. P. J. CRUIKSHANK, D.D.
Crown 8vo. Cloth, **5s.**

THOUGHTS FOR MEDITATION

By Mother CLARE FEY. Translated from the German by a Member of the Congregation. Three volumes. Crown 8vo.
Vol. I, **6s.**; Vols. II and III, each **5s.**

THE HOLY WEEK BOOK

Pointed Edition. With an historical introduction by ADRIAN FORTESCUE, D.D., the complete Latin and English text of all the offices, and a Tonale. Wrapper, **9d.**; cloth, **1s. 6d.**; pluvis grain, **3s.**

Please send for our Lenten Book List.

Burns Oates & Washbourne Limited

Publishers to the Holy See

LONDON: 43—45 NEWGATE STREET, E.C. 1.
129 VICTORIA STREET, S.W. 1.

And at Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow.

RECENT BOOKS.

MODERN SCIENCE AND THE TRUTHS BEYOND. A popular outline of Philosophy in relation to the Scientific Problems of to-day. By The Abbé Th. Moreux, Director of Bourges Observatory. With a Foreword by Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt. Crown 8vo. **5s.** net. (Postage 4d.).

THE TRUTHS OF ETERNITY. A Series of Meditations for the use of those who desire to perform the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. By Father Joseph Pergmajer, S.J. Crown 8vo. **5s.** net. (Postage 6d.)

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. Elucidated according to the mind of the Church. By M. J. Ollivier, O.P. Translated from the French by E. Leahy. Crown 8vo, cloth, **7s. 6d.** (Postage 4d.).

(Second Impression).

GOLDEN HOURS WITH THE LONELY JESUS OF OUR TABERNACLES. Third Edition—Completely Revised and Enlarged to include Four Hours of Adoration. By J. Canon Browne, P.P., V.F. (Dingle). Cloth, **2s. 6d.** net. (Postage 3d.).

BROWNE & NOLAN, Limited

41 & 42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN, C.2.

18 RED LION PASSAGE, LONDON, W.C.1.

Branches—BELFAST, CORK, WATERFORD and all Booksellers

Three Days to a Page ; Ruled Faint only, or with £ s. d. Columns, and Interleaved with Blotting. F.cap size. Price **1/6** net ; Postage **6d.** extra.

IRISH OFFICE DIARY

1931

DAYS AND MONTHS BILINGUAL.

With Members of the Irish Free State Executive. Members of Dail Eireann and of the Senate. Judges of the Supreme and High Courts, Circuit Judges and District Justices. Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the City of Dublin and the Principal Officials of the Corporation. Calendar for 1931 and reference Calendars for 1930 and 1932. Representatives of the Irish Free State Abroad. Postal Guide (Home, Foreign and Colonial) and Stamp Duties. Irish Law Terms and Movable Feasts, etc.

THOM'S DIRECTORY OF IRELAND

1931

Royal 8vo. 2650 pages. Price **36/-.** By post **37/-.**

Consult it on everything about Ireland.

Inhabitants, Resources, Government and Industries, County Members, Councillors, Boards of Health, County Homes, Hospitals, Urban and Rural Councils, etc.

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD., DUBLIN.

THE TALBOT PRESS, Ltd.

SPRING ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE REAL DE RANCÉ. By AILBE J. LUDDY, O.CIST.

An authentic and adequate Biography of the illustrious Penitent and Monastic Reformer of the seventeenth century, who, amongst his many claims to renown, possesses this also: that he was spiritual director to King James II. Compiled from original and reliable sources, the book is at once an historical narrative and a critical study. Its author, Ailbe J. Luddy, O.CIST. subjects to much sharp criticism Abbé Bremond's recent work, "Abbé Tempête," which, he maintains, presents rather an ugly caricature than a faithful portrait of De Rancé.

Large Cr. 8vo. Price **7/6** net.

THE PEOPLE'S LIFE OF ST. PATRICK. By HELENA CONCANNON, D.LITT. With many authentic illustrations.

Dr. Concannon, whose original studies of Irish Saints and Scholars are so well known, has written her Masterpiece in this brilliant biography of our Patron Saint. It is a book full of human, romantic and scholarly interest. As its title indicates, it makes a special appeal to the home circle and the private student. Detailed Prospectus will be sent on application.

Cr. 8vo. Cloth. Price **5/-** net.

AN IDEAL BOOK FOR CHILDREN

THE CHILD'S LIFE OF ST. PATRICK. By Rev. M. H. GAFFNEY, O.P. With many beautiful illustrations.

Square 8vo. Cloth. Price **2/6** net.

DAILY LIGHT

MEDITATIONS AND READINGS FOR EVERY DAY OF THE YEAR. By Very Rev. J. B. COYLE, C.SS.R.

From the writings of St. Alphonsus de Liguori. In four parts conforming to the Seasons of the Church, two half-volumes to each part. Now ready First Volume, Parts I. and II. Second Volume, Parts I. and II. Third Volume, Parts I. and II. Fourth Volume, Part I.

Cap 8vo. Cloth boards. **5/-** net each Part.

Detailed Prospectus on application.

The Talbot Press Catalogue gives a description of the best Irish Books by Irish Authors. It will be sent free on application. A special Prayer Book Catalogue is also available.

DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS, Ltd., 89 Talbot Street

And all Booksellers.

THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES REVIEW

A Monthly Magazine which Discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: FIVE SHILLINGS

Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., Editor-in-Chief

Rev. JOHN O'GRADY, Ph.D., LL.D., Managing Editor

The Catholic University of America

WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

SOME RECENT OXFORD BOOKS

THE WHEEL OF FIRE. A Study in the sombre tragedies of Shakespeare. By G. WILSON KNIGHT. With an Introduction by T. S. ELIOT. 12s. 6d. net.

"... There can be no question that Mr. Wilson Knight has, to a very considerable extent, reconstructed, not only the vision of the individual plays he is interpreting, but, as was his aim, the vision of Shakespeare's work as a whole."—*New Statesman.*

STUDIES IN KEATS. By J. MIDDLETON MURRY. 7s. 6d. net.

"... Take us further into the creative depths of Keats's being than any other essays which we have read ... This uncanny depth of divination ..."—*Bookman.*

POETRY AT PRESENT. By CHARLES WILLIAMS. 7s. 6d. net.

"... Mr. Williams has done a remarkable thing in writing emotionally about sixteen modern poets, without sinking into the vapid politeness of the University Extension Lecturer ... All the essays have intuition ..."—*Criterion.*

THE APPROACH TO SHAKESPEARE. By J. W. MACKAIL. 6s. net.

An attempt to quicken appreciation of Shakespeare as an artist, and of his work as art, by indicating lines of approach and ways of entrance to the country of the plays.

THE POEMS OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS.

A new edition containing poems not printed in the original collection of 1918. 7s. 6d. net.

Also 250 copies on hand-made paper, illustrated and numbered, 25s. net.

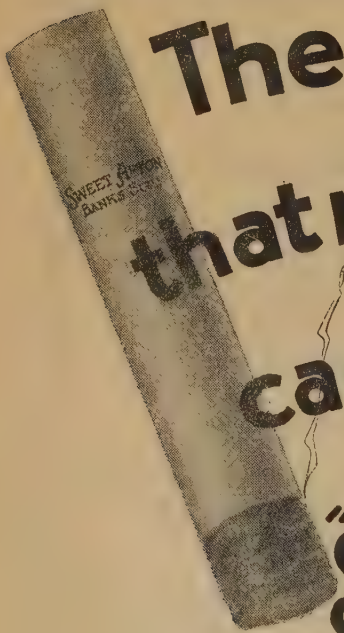
GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By G. F. LAHEY. 7s. 6d. net.

"... Hopkins was one of the major poets of the second half of the nineteenth century ..."—*Times Literary Supplement.*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

AMEN HOUSE E.C. 4

UNIVERSITY PHARMACY
102 Lower Leeson Street (St. Stephen's Green)
AND
FURLONG'S MEDICAL HALL
17 Upper Merrion Street, DUBLIN
A Pharmacy is known by the Doctors who patronise it
Prescriptions for some of the best known Physicians in Town are filled here
JOSEPH O'REILLY, M.P.S.I., Telephone: 61760.



The best that money can buy
"SWEET AFTON"
BANKS SIZE 10 for 6° 20 for 11½°
CIGARETTES

BED AND BREAKFAST 6/6
*
Phone No.: 44094

WHEN IN DUBLIN STAY AT
Granville Hotel & Restaurant
Opposite
Custom House and Gardiner Street
Central position to Theatres, Rail and Bus Terminus and North Wall Boats.
A HOME FROM HOME—MEALS ALWAYS READY.
Special terms Week ends. J. SMITH, *Proprietor*

VOL. XX No. 77

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1931

CONTENTS

			PAGE
I.	THE "RERUM NOVARUM" AFTER FORTY YEARS	*Henry Somerville, M.A.*	1
II.	WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS AND "RERUM NOVARUM"	*Prof. John Busteed, M.Comm*	13
III.	CARDINAL WOLSEY, EDUCATOR	*Professor T. Corcoran, S.J.*	24
IV.	BEGINNINGS OF LATIN CULTURE IN IRELAND	*Professor Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt.*	39
V.	IRISH BISHOPS IN NEWFOUNDLAND, 1794-1893	*Professor P. W. Browne, D.D.*	49
VI.	THE SPACE WE LIVE IN	*Henry V. Gill, S.J.*	67
VII.	IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 17	*Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	80
VIII.	THE ORIGIN OF IRISH NATURE POETRY ...	*Gerard Murphy*	87
IX.	THE MIRACLE OF MODERN THOUGHT ...	*Arthur Little, S.J.*	103
X.	THE TRAGEDY OF THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE	*V. M. Crawford*	117
XI.	HOW TO SEE IRELAND ON FOOT	*D. Donnelly, S.J.*	129
XII.	AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION	*James J. Walsh, M.D.*	138
XIII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS:		

Why I am / am not a Catholic, p. 142;—Plain Reasons for being a Catholic, p. 143.—The Archaeology of Roman Britain, p. 144.—Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit, p. 146.—Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et son Temps p. 146.—White Horseman, p. 147.—Un Animateur de la Jeunesse au XIIIe siècle, p. 148.—The Training of the Will, p. 150.—English Education, 1789-1902, p. 151.—Irish Ironies, p. 152—Annette and Philibert, p. 153.—Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII, p. 154.—La Réforme en Angleterre, p. 156.—History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, p. 158.—The Vatican Council, p. 158.—Irish Visions of the Other World, p. 161.—The Crusades, p. 162.—Spain, p. 163.—Johanna die Wahnsinnige, p. 163.—The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 165.—Property in the Eighteenth Century, p. 167.—Die Staats-und Soziallehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin, p. 169.—Der kirchliche Eigentumsegriff, p. 169.—Katholische Staatslehre und volksdeutsche Politik, p. 169.—The Things that are not Caesar's, p. 169.—La Transformation de la Géographie politique de l'Irlande au XVIIe siècle, p. 172.—Les Noms de Lieux irlandais, p. 172.—The Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Study of the Bible, p. 174.

☞ STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

Single Copies - - - 3s. 6d. net (postage 3½d.).
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net.

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.
Publishing Offices: The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd., 89 Talbot Street, Dublin.

This is our problem

From July until February we are overwhelmed with orders for wiring installations and we have to employ a very large staff to cope with the work. From February until July the work eases off and we must dispense with the services of a number of our Installations staff. These men remain unemployed until the autumn when the rush of wiring orders begins again.

This is our proposition

To reduce pressure of work during the rush season, and to increase business during the slack season, we make the following offer:

FROM NOW UNTIL JULY WE WILL INSTAL, FREE OF CHARGE TO THE CUSTOMER, ONE CONVENIENCE OUTLET FOR EVERY 8 LIGHTING OUTLETS ORDERED.

This is your position

if you decide to take advantage of this offer:

You enjoy immediately the benefit of Electricity.

You get one convenience outlet wired free of charge.

You get a very special promptness and attention in the execution of your order.

★ We shall be glad to supply further information.

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD

INSTALLATION

DEPARTMENT, 30 MERRION SQ., DUBLIN

THE "RERUM NOVARUM" AFTER FORTY YEARS

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

THE *Rerum Novarum* enjoys a unique reputation among Encyclicals; it is probably the most often quoted of papal documents, and it is certainly the best seller. The Catholic Social Guild in England disposes of thousands of copies every year and thus obtains a welcome contribution to its revenues. Pilgrims will go to Rome from all parts of the world in May for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the issue of the Encyclical by Pope Leo XIII. Doubtless the number of new readers will be increased this year by all that will be written and said in the way of commemoration and commentary. It would be interesting if we could have candid confessions of the reactions of new readers of different types and experiences. I can speak for a Catholic factory worker in his teens more than twenty years ago, mildly smitten with Socialism. This youth, with all the assurance of his years, satisfied himself that the Encyclical was not an *ex cathedra* pronouncement and therefore felt free to criticize it severely! The argument against Socialism was dismissed as irrelevant, because it appeared to the young critic that the Pope did not distinguish between the socialisation of all property and of the means of production only. The enunciation of the doctrine of the Living Wage was discounted, because it did not show how the Living Wage was to be obtained. Other advantages to the worker, advocated by the Pope, were unimpressive because in the first decade of the twentieth century they had already been secured by English legislation and trade unions. The Encyclical as a whole seemed to be nothing more than platitudes. The years and wider experience and

opportunities for study have changed the views of that reader, and he now realises that the *Rerum Novarum* is a masterpiece of social science, as well as a worthy pronouncement of the Supreme Teacher of the Church of God. Yet he still feels that many first readers will share his original disappointment, for the Encyclical does not prescribe any specific for our pressing social troubles: it gives rather the principles of healthy social living, which we can apply to our case only gradually and after many practical problems have been solved.

The very success of the *Rerum Novarum* is responsible for some appearance of platitudinousness at the present day. A great part of the teaching of the Encyclical is now generally accepted, theoretically if not practically, by the majority of schools and parties, Catholic and non-Catholic. This was not the situation in 1891. At that time the social teaching of the Encyclical was regarded as definitely "advanced," and even daring. Individualism was still the dominant creed and policy among economists and legislatures. Socialists, then almost an infinitesimal minority in English-speaking countries, had reason for acclaiming the Pope as having struck a resounding blow against the currently accepted maxims of economics.

We must guard against exaggerating the novelty of the orientation given to social thought by the Encyclical. It was rather an authoritative endorsement of what had already become the stronger tendencies in the Catholic social movement throughout the world. The Pope was pronouncing judgment on causes submitted to him, as well as giving a lead. It would be an injustice to the Church to infer that there had not been leading Catholics aware of the urgency of the modern social question from its first beginnings. Ozanam and Lacordaire were as alive to the needs of their time as were the St. Simonians and Louis Blanc. Bishop Ketteler had begun his social apostolate several years before Karl Marx published the

first volume of his *Capital*. Leo XIII himself, in 1877, a year before his accession to the Chair of Peter, had issued a pastoral as Archbishop of Perugia, in which he said :—

> The modern schools of economics have considered labour as the supreme end of man, whom they take into account as a machine of more or less value, according as he aids more or less in production. Hence no consideration for the normal man, and the colossal abuse that is made of the poor and lowly by those who seek to keep them in a state of dependence in order to grow rich at their expense. And even in countries which have the reputation of being the foremost in civilisation, what grave and repeated complaints do we not hear of the excessive hours of labour imposed on those who must earn their bread by the sweat of their brow ? And does not the sight of the poor children, shut up in factories where, in the midst of their premature toil, consumption awaits them—does not this sight provoke words of burning indignation from every generous soul, and oblige Governments and Parliaments to make laws that can serve as a check to this inhuman traffic ? And were it not for Catholic charity, which, with its asylums and various institutions, never ceases to provide relief to their misery, how many of these children would now-a-days be left without protection and abandoned to themselves by their fathers and mothers, whom the frenzy of labour drags from the domestic hearth. Oh ! most beloved children, when we see these things or hear them related by organs that are above suspicion, we are impotent to contain the feeling of indignation which is ready to burst forth against those who are of opinion that the destinies of civilisation should be entrusted to the hands of these barbarians. And they call this "encouraging progress ! "

Having become Pope, Leo XIII gave the world a long series of social Encyclicals, but he did not write pontifically on the subject of Capital and Labour till 1891. By that time the Catholic social movement had a long record of successful achievement. Ketteler's *Christianity and the Labour Question* had appeared in 1864. The Bishops of Germany, at the historic Conference at Fulda in 1869, adopted a comprehensive social programme and, as the French writer, Georges Goyau, observes : "When

death surprised Ketteler the German Centre, the Catholics of Germany, possessed, thanks to him, a social doctrine and a social platform." It was in the year of Ketteler's death, 1877, that the Centre Party introduced a Protection of Labour Bill which was the first ever tabled in the Reichstag. The Bill was defeated by the Liberals and Socialists, while Bismarck expressed the opinion that such legislation would handicap Germany in world competition. In 1891, Germany adopted the social legislation for which the Centre had never ceased to strive.

If nothing is said here of the Catholic social movement in other countries, like Austria and Switzerland, it is not because they did not play magnificent parts. I must restrict myself to sketching the situation which, according to my limited reading, determined the appearance and form of the Encyclical. The Catholic movement was divided into two schools, the Conservatives and the Social Reformers. By the Conservatives is not meant those Catholics, unhappily numerous in all countries, who thought very little of the application of their religion to social life, and who more or less adopted the secularized philosophy of those around them. The Catholic Conservatives believed intensely in the social importance and power of the Church, and were deeply religious and conscientious. But they trusted so much to religion and conscience as to oppose State action directed towards social reform. Among the Conservatives were honoured names, like those of Mgr. Freppel, Bishop of Angers, and Professor Charles Perin, of Louvain. The Conservatives are sometimes called the School of Angers, from the episcopal city of Bishop Freppel, and the Social Reformers are called the School of Liège, from the encouragement given to them by the Bishop of that city, Mgr. Doutreloux. State intervention, according to the Conservatives, should be limited to the protection of strict rights and should not extend to the protection of the weak nor to the enforcement of obligations of charity. The effect of the

Encyclical on the Catholic social movement may be stated in the words of a distinguished living writer who inclines to what may be regarded as the more Conservative side to-day: "The conflict of principles reached its height at the Congresses of Liège in 1886, 1887 and 1890. The Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891 directed the whole movement towards social reforms; it tilted the balance in favour of the principles of Liège."[1] Father Fallon goes on to say that unity of social doctrine is being steadily realized among Catholics on the basic questions of intervention by the State, whose mission is not only to protect rights but to protect the weak and actively to promote social welfare; there is growing agreement also on the rights of trade unions, on the right to the Living Wage, and to the regulation of social and economic relations by the principles of justice and charity.

In 1877, before he was Pope, Leo XIII, as we have seen, had published a remarkable pastoral on the Labour Question; in 1882, he formed a committee in Rome to study the question; in 1884, he received a pilgrimage of French employers of labour; in 1887, he delivered an address on the social question to a gathering of French working-men pilgrims; in 1890, he outlined the leading ideas of social reform in a letter to the Kaiser. Some non-Catholic writers make a good deal of an appeal to the Pope to speak on the social question made by an old St. Simonian named Pereire. This appeal was addressed to the Pope in 1878, and St. Simon himself had made a similar appeal to the Holy See fifty years before. There is no reason to think that non-Catholic invitations had any particular influence. Leo XIII, who had been or was in touch with men like Bishop Ketteler, Baron Vogelsang, the Comte de Mun and Cardinal Mermillod, did not need non-Catholic prompting. In 1887 Mermillod was able to tell his associates of the Fribourg Union that the Pope had resolved to issue an Encyclical

[1] Professor V. Fallon, S.J., Louvain, in *Principes d'Economie Sociale*

on Labour, and minds were well prepared for the doctrine that was proclaimed in 1891. True though it is that the effect of the Encyclical was to strengthen the Social Reformers rather than the Conservatives, the Pope's language was so prudently chosen and his recommendations so carefully balanced that no loyal Catholics, and the Conservatives were certainly such, could feel any hurt. On the chief issue which divided Catholics, the limits of State action, the Pope was reserved. While laying down that the wage-earners, being among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the Government, Leo XIII showed himself anxious to limit State interference, " the principle being that the law must not undertake more nor proceed further than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief."

The happy result of papal statesmanship was, to use the phrase of Père Fallon, the " apaisement des controverses," and the Catholic social movement entered upon a period of intense activity, interrupted by the War, and now resumed. This is the real proof of the importance of the *Rerum Novarum;* it brings forth works worthy of Truth. The Catholic parties in Germany, Belgium and Holland owe their enduring political strength to their sound and progressive social programmes, based as they are on the teachings of the *Rerum Novarum.* In these days politics are dominated by economics, and it is evidence of the competence in social science acquired by Catholic clergy, to say nothing of laity, that since the War Holland, Austria and Yugo-Slavia have had priests as Prime Ministers, while Germany and Hungary[1] have had priests as Ministers of Labour, and Czecho-Slovakia has had a priest Minister of Health and Social welfare. Catholic hierarchies in all countries declare themselves clearly and confidently on social issues and thus guide consciences,

[1] Mgr. Joseph Vass, who died at Budapest on Sept. 7, 1930, was eleven years Minister of Social Welfare and Labour.

form public opinion and influence legislation. The Report of the International Labour Office in 1928 may be quoted as evidence of the activity of the Catholic Church in the field of social economic policy. The following are extracts from the report :—

The Catholic Hierarchy has remained faithful to the spirit of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, and is intensifying its efforts to make the influence of the Encyclical felt in everyday life. Provincial decrees, pastoral letters, collective manifestoes, and catechisms all reiterate and expand the teachings of Leo XIII on the rules of a really Catholic social organisation, on an adequate wage, legitimate strikes, conciliation and the duties of the workman to assist his companions in joining "associations which support in a Christian manner the interests of the workers."

Faced with the changed and unforeseen conditions of the last few years and the economic conflicts of the war and post-war periods, the Catholic Hierarchy has applied itself to completing and expanding this teaching. With a renewed energy the Bishops have condemned the doctrines and disastrous effects of *laissez-faire*. A joint declaration of the Belgian Episcopate, for example (August, 1925), reiterates the words of Leo XIII, and charges *laissez-faire* with being responsible for the "lamentable situation of the working classes during the last century ; it is due to it that the workers' interests have been so unjustly misunderstood, badly protected and so badly defended in Parliaments . . . . . Socialism has rightly reacted against the social disorganisation produced by *laissez-faire*, but it must not pride itself upon monopolising this reaction." And, as a temporary measure for furthering the solution of specific problems, the Bishops state that they are not against a "compromise" or political union between socialists and Christian democrats, provided the integrity of their respective doctrines and programmes is respected.

In the same year seven Austrian Bishops, in a joint Christmas Message, expressed their reprobation of that *laissez-faire* doctrine which "has changed to capitalism in the worst sense of the word and to the tyranny of ownership—the principal cause of the disorder and the ruin of our economic structure." The message did not condemn modern industry, the present system of credit, or the wage-earning system, but it did vigorously denounce that "uncontrolled plutocracy" which "flouts justice and monopolises the power to raise prices."

On the duties of securing work for the workers or of fixing a just wage, joint messages issued by the Bishops in the United States, Belgium, Austria, Northern France and Lyons all likewise develop the doctrines of the Encyclical . . . . The Bishops of Lombardy (1920) emphasised that, in exceptional periods of economic crisis, it is only just that the capitalist and property-owner should accept reductions in their income before the workman, who can economise nothing of his own needs. And the United States Bishops, in their " programme of social reconstruction," demand legislation fixing a scale of wages which should at least suffice for the decent support of a family in the case of a wage-earning man, and in the case of a woman should allow her to live alone according to a reasonable standard. In the absence of such legal minimum wage, the State should provide for sickness insurance as well as unemployment and old age insurance. . . .

In September 1925, during the Bank strike in France, several French Bishops also stated that a proper wage should " be sufficient for the necessities of daily life." The Bishop of Trèves, too, when he intervened in the dispute in the Saar in 1927, impressed upon the managements of the iron and steel firms the necessity of a peaceful solution, and asked the employers' organisations of Sarrebruck to be conciliatory and to grant the slight increase in wages which had been approved by a conciliation committee.

The 1891 teachings on trade union questions have been completed and expanded in the same way.

The Popes and Bishops, of course, emphasise the right of private ownership, the duties of workers towards employers, and the right of the employer to conscientious work. They recall the service of capitalists in enterprise and production. They regard the workers' unions in a confessional light, but they mean to safeguard the independence of these organisations. The Austrian Bishops welcome the spirit of solidarity of the workman " who does not wish to see himself delivered defenceless to the power of capitalism." The Archbishop of Lyons (May, 1924) believed that an employer " neglects the pontifical teachings when he will only deal with individual workmen," and in the name of Pope Benedict XV the Cardinal Secretary of State (1921) approved the separate formation of employers' and workers' organisations with joint arbitration committees and liaison bodies between them.

The Austrian Episcopate strongly endorsed "intelligent collaboration between employers and employees in a real community of interests. Workers are perfectly justified in demanding a real vote in the management (*e.g.*, works councils), provided they do not prejudice the rights of others, whether employers or members of other social classes." The Archbishop of Cologne, too, on two occasions (December, 1926, and February, 1927) emphasised the necessity for collaboration between employers and workers. In his opinion it was clear that Christainity does not in any way condemn the existing economic order, technically called "capitalist," which represents real progress in economic life; but an exclusively economic mentality, cupidity for profits without any regard for the fate of the producers, and "mammonism" have created economic and social situations which are a grave danger for the employer and a real threat to millions of men that they will be deprived of all that is most valuable in human life.

In 1925 the Belgian Bishops stated that it was necessary "to harmonise the rights of capital with those of labour in industrial organisations sustained by faith and represented and defended in the Legislatures . . . . and to use universal suffrage to secure the establishment of peace and order, midway between the other alternatives with which political parties threaten us—anarchy or dictatorship."

It has been considered important to give the above quotations here and so re-emphasise the Catholic doctrine enunciated in the Encyclical of 1891. In the light of this doctrine it is not difficult to understand how, from the point of view of their own teachings, the Catholics can give their support not only to the programme of labour legislation defined in Part XIII., but also to the aspirations from which that programme was formed.

The Encyclical is, perhaps, most popularly known for its assertion of the labourer's right to a Living Wage, as opposed to the prevalent economic theory that wages should be left to be determined by competition. Partly owing to the increase of wealth throughout the world real wages are now generally higher than when the Encyclical appeared, and in Great Britain legislation and organisation have enabled labour to improve its share of the national product at the expense of capital.

If I may express a personal view, it is that the world has to thank the Encyclical for a new and most valuable system of labour remuneration which was at first called the " sursalaire " in the country of its origin and is now known as family allowances. The scheme allows workers to be paid, in addition to the standard wage, extra remuneration according to the number of their dependent children. It is an effort to translate the idea of a " family living wage " into economic fact. It was started first by Catholic employers in France, who had taken the Pope's teaching to heart and wished that their workers should receive a wage sufficient for decent if frugal livelihood. It was impossible to pay all workers, including the unmarried and the childless, a wage sufficient to maintain an average-sized family, and a solution was found in the principle of special payments for dependants, similar to the separation allowances for the wives of soldiers paid by governments during the War. It is usually necessary for the employers of an industry or locality to contribute to a central fund from which the family allowances are paid. The contributions are made on an agreed basis, such as the number of workers employed. An employer has, therefore, no reason to discriminate against the employment of married men, for the wages he pays do not depend on the personal circumstances of the worker. The system has its critics, not least among the trade unions, but it has spread throughout Europe and has endured through times of good trade and bad. It has not been adopted in Britain, though it was recommended for the coal mining industry by a Royal Commission in 1926, and the advocates of family allowances in Britain are disposed to claim them not for the workers from industry but for poorer classes from the State. In my view the Continental form of family allowances is more in accord with Catholic ideas, and the way which seems to find most favour in Britain is socialistic and the results would be disastrous.

If there were any Catholics forty years ago who regretted Pope Leo XIII's explicit condemnation of Socialism, they would surely admit that the Pope has been proved right by events. Socialism was comparatively young and promising in 1891; it was supposed to have learned the lesson of the Paris Commune and had cast off revolutionism and entered the "reformist" stage; it had become the fashionable politics of intellectuals, and in England the *Fabian Essays* had just appeared. If that was its dawn, reformist Socialism is already in its twilight. The evolution of Socialism may be observed from the careers of prominent Socialists. Mussolini, Pilsudski, Millerand and Briand were Socialists in their less responsible days, and they have now no more use for the name than the thing. The name has been retained in England and has even become more fashionable, but all the meaning has gone out of it. Though the largest political party in Britain is nominally Socialist, the nationalization of production, distribution and exchange is as dead an issue as the abolition of the Monarchy. I do not say that Socialism will never revive, but if it does it will be the Socialism of Stalin, not of Sidney Webb, now Lord Passfield.

It is not at all certain that the social question is less of a menace to civilisation to-day than it was in 1891, despite improvements in the standard of living. But I do think that the countries where Catholic influence is strongest are making the greatest advances in economic prosperity and social stability. The most vital doctrine proclaimed in the Encyclical is not that of the Living Wage or of the right to property; it is, as Pope Leo himself said: "The main thing needful is to return to real Christianity, apart from which all the plans and devices of the wisest will prove of little avail." And again: "We affirm without hesitation that all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church." I say this not because it is the proper and pious thing for

a Catholic to say, but because it has been shown in Great Britain that social reforms, laudable enough in themselves, when secured by class strength for a class interest, may imperil the economic life of the nation. I make the point also, as I cannot share the impressions of those Catholics and non-Catholics who grow lyrical about the *Rerum Novarum* because it shows that the Church has a care for the working man and denounces the injustices of the modern industrial system. Those to whom such commonplaces come as a revelation must have known very little of the past history and present life of the Church. Though, as was remarked at the beginning of this article, the *Rerum Novarum* is a great seller and much quoted, there is reason to suspect that some readers go to it only for what suits their predilections. There are different passages which anti-capitalists and anti-socialists respectively can extract and declaim with great effect for their partizan purposes. But to obtain its constructive value the reader must study the whole Encyclical and pay as much attention to what is said about the Church as about the State and trade unions and other temporal agencies and measures. The programme of the *Rerum Novarum* can only be realized in a Catholic society.

H. Somerville.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS AND "RERUM NOVARUM"

BY JOHN BUSTEED, M.COMM.
Professor of Economics, University College, Cork

MOST of us are in some way aware that during the past twelve months "an economic blizzard" has been ravaging the world. When I say that the world has been struck by an "economic blizzard" I am using the phraseology of an English Cabinet Minister. It is the type of popular terminology which is so frequent and so fatal in economics. There are two fundamental errors in the statement that "an economic blizzard has struck the world." Firstly, the so-called world economic crisis is *not* a world crisis. The Chinese, for instance, (a vast nation of 500 million people) are relatively speaking quite untouched by this crisis. Their economic system has little contact with ours. And similarly with the vast bulk of the 350 millions living in India. And also similarly with the 150 million people of Russia. Without troubling to come much nearer home, I have mentioned three nations comprising *half* the human race in which only a tiny fringe of the citizens are affected by the so-called world crisis. These peoples may have serious problems of their own. That is beside the point. The crisis which we are discussing is not a world crisis. It is an economic crisis existing in nations that are organised and "efficiency"-ised for international trade. The crisis is intimately and almost exclusively bound up with the question of international trade. It is a crisis among industries that are more or less living on international trade.

The second inaccuracy lies in the implications of such a phrase as "economic blizzard." When people talk about "waiting till the storm blows over" and "waiting till the depression passes," they are suggesting an analogy

with a storm-tossed ship which will sail quite smoothly when the elements abate. The analogy would be much more suitable if it referred to a ship sailing under satisfactory weather conditions but whose driving mechanism is jamming badly. Such phrases as " economic blizzards " and " waiting till the depression passes " etc., are wrong because they suggest external causes over which the authorities have no control and for which they have no responsibility. It is of fundamental importance to recognise that if this international trade mechanism of ours is jamming, the defects are *within* the machine. They are not being imposed from outside.

The existence of the crisis comes home to us most through the increase in unemployment. The number of registered unemployed in Great Britain has increased to $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions. In other words we have the appalling fact that approximately one-fifth of the British population is living on the " dole." Germany's registered unemployed are 4 millions, and we are told that in the United States there are something like 5 or 6 millions anxious to work and anxious to buy the products of work and unable to get work. These figures are so enormous that they stagger the imagination. We do not appreciate their significance. The ironical aspect of it all is that this state of affairs was preceded by general overproduction—not that the world had more than it could consume, but that it had more than could be handled by the machinery of exchange and distribution, and the poor old machine had a major break-down.

Now it is no new thing to have such a break-down. Ever since our modern capitalist system asserted itself—*i.e.*, during approximately the last century and a half—there has been a major break-down about once every decade. Economists and statisticians have worried and busied themselves with this problem of the " trade cycle," as they call it. Early on it was shown with great plausibility to be closely connected with sun-spots. The

spotted area of the sun expands and contracts in eleven-year cycles. Later it was shown, with still greater statistical ingenuity, that Venus was the guilty party. Venus makes transits or quasi-transits between the earth and the sun every eight years, thereby causing electro-magnetic disturbances affecting our climate and therefore our harvests. Bad harvests meant a crisis in agriculture, thereby inducing a crisis in industry, etc. The fact that it is good harvests, plentiful supplies of food, which cause crisis, unemployment and hunger should be sufficient to dispose of these theories. Later economists have put forward other explanations, such as that waves of optimism and pessimism pass over mankind bringing more or less regular periods of activity and depression. This mental disease, however, does not seem to affect the self-contained farms of China, India or say Bulgaria. It appears to be confined to the international trading sections of the human race. And again it is alleged that the banks and nasty unnamed people called international financiers, with deliberate malice, victimise the community by restriction of credit. Sometimes it is admitted that the financiers are not wicked but merely helpless in the matter. Anyhow they meet together and decide to "sterilise the gold reserves" and indulge in various other unrealities.

I am not going to treat seriously these or other alleged causes of periodical economic crises. In so far as they deal with realities they are explanations of what happens *but not an excuse for what happens.* Such of them as are worthy of consideration at all are incidentals, not fundamentals.

It is desirable to recognise, particularly for us in Ireland, that there is a double aspect to the present crisis. There is the ordinary international crisis superimposed on an English crisis. England has had more than a million unemployed *for the past ten years.* In order to appreciate what this means, let us take a brief retrospect

over the economic history of the past century or so. International trade in our modern sense of the word is a growth of little more than a century. And during the nineteenth century England had the sole and unchallenged leadership of the world in industry, commerce and finance. This extraordinary position was due mainly to historical and geographical accidents and to the ability of the English to utilise their opportunities. Such an abnormal world economic balance could not be stable for all time. Gradually various countries began to assert themselves, and in due course Germany commenced to shape as a formidable rival in the export markets. Then came the European War and the smashing of Germany. But during this brief interval a new rival, the United States, made very great progress, and by the end of the war England had yielded place to the United States as the greatest exporting country in the world. And in the period following the war the reconstruction of devastated Belgium and France caused the most modern industrial equipment to be placed in these countries, with the result that—to take only one instance—Britain, whose iron and steel industry dominated the world a comparatively short time ago, has in recent years a smaller iron and steel output than France. A still more unexpected development has been that Germany—the exporting rival that was defeated and smashed and deprived of valuable coal and iron areas—exceeded Britain in exports of manufactures this year.

England is plainly losing position. Various excuses have been put forward for the absence of recovery in recent years. The impoverishment of Europe, for instance. But Europe imported and consumed more in 1929 than in 1913. Another excuse is the great increase in tariff barriers. But these do not explain how England is losing position to her exporting rivals. The industrialisation of China and India have undoubtedly meant a certain loss of markets to England, but they are equally

closed to her rivals. To say that her rivals have used an unfair stimulus to exports through their depreciated currencies is hardly convincing, considering that some of the most serious rivals, like the United States, have not had depreciated currencies.

The plain truth seems to be that England has lost the drive and adaptability of the pioneer stage. She is no longer the pioneer of capitalism. According to the standards of the times she is on the whole inefficient. Drastic reorganisation of equipment and methods is necessary. These reforms are in fact being carried out in other countries, such as the United States, Germany and Russia, but the circumstances are such as to make the operation exceptionally difficult in England.

Now when we in Ireland look forward to the passing of the depression, so that our stocks and shares may recover in value, and we may sell more butter and eggs and cattle in Manchester and Cardiff, we must remember that the English part of the crisis has to be considered separately. It will not pass quickly. The year 1931 is going to be a bad year. Whatever about the international trading crisis, the special English crisis is not going to be removed by any tricking with gold standards, inter-allied debts, more saving, more spending or any other incidentals. A reorganisation of equipment and methods more drastic than seems possible is necessary if England is to reassert herself against her international trading rivals.

Though it is clear that England is going *down*, it would, however, be very foolish to suggest that England is going *under*. It is intensely interesting to watch the drama that is being unfolded. When England eventually emerges (as she will), she will be a different England in mind and body. In the short space of twelve months indeed the English mental attitude towards things economic has changed considerably, and even by next Christmas the evolution will have proceeded much further.

Her "cock-of-the-walk" attitude towards the world has disappeared completely. Who would have thought even two or three years ago that the Federation of British Industries would officially publish a volume entitled "The Passing of *Laissez-faire*,"—the very same people who for more than a century instructed their economists to pontificate to the world in exactly the opposite argument? (When I was a young student, a twentieth-century student, the principles of *laissez-faire* were enounced in exactly the same way as the Ten Commandments were). As to the eventual result, I have clear ideas, but I will not be so rash as to present them in prophecy.

There is no doubt of course that the *general* international depression in trade will in due course improve. The car is not quite so hopeless that, after a few dreary and hungry hours waiting in the rain every ten miles, we cannot get it going again. But is it not futile to continue holding learned and perfectly accurate investigations into the defectiveness of the tyres or the hood or even the lamps, when a worthless engine is a worthless engine. Why not get a decent car? All human observation has shown that frequent and extremely costly break-downs in this international trading mechanism of ours are inevitable. Most of us who have to investigate and pronounce so learnedly on the matter have good and guaranteed incomes and are incapable of realising what it is to get food for a half-a-dozen little mouths while the father, a skilled and willing worker, is walking the streets in despair. If we all had to share this despair, economic literature would be revolutionised overnight. As I have said, dreadfully costly break-downs are *inevitable* in this international trading mechanism of ours.

It is not getting to the root of matters to talk about Russian dumping, Australian overborrowing, Wall Street bulls and bears, the bank rate, currency policy or any other of the incidentals to depression. The mechanism

of international exchange is *inherently* unstable. We have been trying to build up a very complex *international* economic mechanism without the possibility of any international political authority. The League of Nations is not, cannot and will not be a political authority in the ordinary sense of government. No member of the League has yielded any of its sovereignty to the League. And far from nations tending to coalesce, they are asserting their distinctiveness (witness the Irish Revolution). If nearly the whole of a community's economic interests were confined within its own political frontiers, it would be possible to have wage agreements, factory acts, currency conditions, etc., etc., which would be the same for industry as a whole. But the stable basis which this would give is not possible when competing producers are in different countries and the consumers in other countries again.

It is safe to say that the days of unregulated international trade are as dead as the days of unregulated domestic trade. The world is not quite clear as to the nature and extent of the regulation which ought to be imposed. But all countries are making their own experiments. In Russia and Italy the import policy is subservient to general national policy. In all European countries a highly complex import policy is being evolved. And similarly with all other countries that have achieved any reasonable degree of industrial development. England, our neighbour, has not gone very far in such evolution as yet. But she will. She could not possibly stand, for instance, ten years of a Russian economico-political dumping policy. And there is no doubt, of course, that Russia is building a very powerful export mechanism, which will be used for political as well as economic purposes.

During the next generation the world will have completely readjusted its attitude towards international trade. Such trade will not flourish on a basis of mere prices or alleged efficiency, but on how far it fits in with the general national economy.

Henry Ford, a great international trader himself, states in *My Life and Work* :—

> Lincoln said that this nation could not survive half-slave, half free. The human race cannot exist forever half-exploiter, half exploited. Every country has something to give the world of which no competition can cheat her, and the sooner we get back to this system of *natural* specialities and drop this free-for-all system of grab, the sooner we shall be sure of international self respect and international peace. Trying to take the trade of the world can promote war. It cannot promote prosperity. Some day even the international bankers will understand this.

In the days that Mr. Ford visualises—when we in the Saorstát, for instance, shall consider it absurd to import £300,000 of loaves of bread per annum, while gladly importing tea—in those days international crises such as we are passing through at present will be *at least* much more controllable. The trouble will be localised. However the difficulty of prophesying here is that international trade is only one section of economic activity. While we have the growing tendency for the instruments of production and distribution to pass into the control of a small group of natives and foreigners, there can be no real stability in any country. If, as seems the tendency, this control passes from the minority of private individuals into the hands of a minority of communistic bureaucrats, there will be still less stability. Until in short the economic maxims of Pope Leo XIII are put into force—particularly that with reference to the very wide redistribution of property, ownership and control—there cannot be liberty and stability.

Now the words "Pope Leo" are sufficient to stifle a considerable amount of argument in a country like Ireland, but what does Pope Leo in actualities mean to us ? There is probably no country in the world where the ordinary layman is so well grounded in Catholic teaching as in Ireland. Nevertheless, ignoring ordinary trade unionists, if I were to ask the average Catholic University professor (I will leave it at professors, though

I should like to poke in a different direction), "What are the fundamental social principles set forth by Pope Leo and held by all the leading Catholic philosophers through the ages," it is a hundred to one that he would have to say: "Ask me another." How many of the 150 legislators in Dáil Eireann have ever read the Encyclical in question (setting forth, remember, fundamental and unchanging economic doctrine for Catholics)? If there are four or five, I would be surprised.

And is it not the atmosphere of the nation as a whole? Our economic problems must always be discussed as if they were purely materialistic. The policy of not a single one of the political parties, inside or outside the Dáil, is based on the principles of the Encyclical to which I have referred. For all our wagging of Papal flags, we insist on discussing our economic problems on a purely agnostic platform. I am not sneering at agnostics. I know several for whom I have great respect. But a Catholic who insists on forgetting Catholicity when it comes to economic questions is either a rogue or an ignoramus.

One of the teachings of that Encyclical, for instance, is that the concentration of ownership and control in the hands of a minority is wrong, whether that minority be capitalistic private enterprisers or communistic bureaucrats—that it is essentially desirable that ownership should be spread as widely as possible over the community—and that otherwise "crises" are inevitable. In this country no doubt we have a large measure of peasant proprietorship, which is an implementation of the above principle. (Incidentally it is an explanation of why destitution is not as prevalent in Ireland as in other countries. You cannot "fire" a small farmer in the same way as you can "fire" 5,000 Ford workers). But we all know that our peasant proprietorship is not the result of conscious economic policy, but of peasant gunmanship. So we cannot flaunt the Encyclical in self-righteousness as far as peasant proprietorship is concerned.

If we had a definite code in this matter of ownership alone, would we not say: "Mr. Woolworth, prescinding from all question of sweated labour, we have in our own clan many small shop-keepers, not one of whom is an archangel, but we have no use for you. Mr Burton, no matter how cheap or how good your suits may be, we will not have you. Mr. Rank, you may supply cheaper flour—we doubt it, but that is not the point—the small mills of our own clan must work—poor things perhaps, but our own." Has there ever been a statesman in any party in Ireland who said: "Catholic principles have had no say in the industrial revolution. We have inherited a social system which is based on post-Reformation and latter-day agnostic principles. We must not, of course, throw out the dirty water until we get in the clean. Our aim, however, is a civilisation in which the family is the essential unit, much more important than the State. In order to support the far-reaching implications of that principle, one of our aims shall be the farthest possible distribution of ownership—for instance, that the family shall own its dwellinghouse and the land on which the house stands and, as far as possible, the means of production (the farm, the shop, the workshop and tools)—so that not merely the community, but the individual family, shall be as self-sufficient as is reasonably possible." Such a doctrine would be considered in all Irish political parties as the vapourings of a woolly-minded unrealistic professor. They would not attack him in public, because he might wag a big woolly-minded unrealistic Papal stick at them. But they will do so in private and in effective action, which is the serious thing.

Now if you are going to examine our broken-down machine of international trade with the intention of maintaining that machine, it is quite in order to discuss gold standards, inter-allied debts, over-saving, over-spending, adverse trade balances, rationalisation, wage reductions, Imperial economic unity, etc., etc. If, how-

ever you are going to take first things first and consider the fundamental question of social philosophy—if you are going to recognise the existence of a Catholic social and economic philosophy (and it does exist, you must remember)—then you must conclude that a system based on a social philosophy which is the negation of Catholic philosophy must be *inherently* unstable, and must inevitably produce crises. And the only cure obviously for such crises is a new social philosophy.

The difficulty in Ireland is that we are heavily committed to the policy of foreign trade, and consequently are part and parcel of the English-speaking economic régime, where false ideas prevail as to the real meaning of ownership, the duties of property, the duties and rights of the civil authority, the housing of the family, the principles affecting usury and personal labour, etc., etc. In short it is a world where unchristian Liberalism has succeeded in excluding religious considerations from public life. It will be no easy matter for this little State to dissociate itself from a cosmopolitan régime with which it has built up such strong economic, linguistic, cultural and even racial ties. It would be a beginning, however, if we recognised that the said régime is not based on Catholic principles and that this is the real explanation of the present economic crisis and of the inevitable future crises.

JOHN BUSTEED.

THOMAS CARDINAL WOLSEY, EDUCATOR

BY T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

Professor of Education, University College, Dublin

DURING the year 1930, four centuries after his death, the Cardinal of York, Legate and Chancellor, the son of the butcher-grazier of Ipswich, beyond all doubt holds the stage of English History.[1] Mr. Belloc so presents " that flamboyant figure " in " the Quatercentenary Biography," a volume which has evoked the critical attention of Professor A. F. Pollard, author of another work of mark in the settled tradition of the London school of historical research. Between Mr. Belloc and Dr. Pollard there has ensued some vigorous sword-play in the London Press; the passage-at-arms has since (Jan.-Feb. 1931) been re-told with emphasis on the American scene. Between these two books, each bearing " Wolsey " as its sole title, intervened the thorough and impressive volume of Abbé G. Constant, broader in scope, far more orderly and elaborate in its proofs, far less contentious, not to say less acrid, than either of its companions.

Mr. Belloc makes no secret of his plan for placing Clio in attendance on Melpomene. The table of contents boldly presents the stage, the programme, the plot, the cast: three acts precede the interlude; two more follow it. Clio, it may be added, is allowed her evening out; for thirty pages of Notes ensue after the fifth act. Throughout the whole, the great central figure dominates not alone the reader, but the writer. " The Cardinal, in

[1] *Wolsey.* By Hilaire Belloc. (Cassell. 1930. Pp. 332. 15s.).

Wolsey. By A. F. Pollard. (Longmans. 1929. Pp. 409. 21s.).

La Réforme En Angleterre. I. 1509-1547. By G. Constant. (Paris: Perrin. 1930. Pp. 783. 50frs.).

Whitewashing Henry VIII. By Hilaire Belloc. In *America.* January 31, 1931.

his great Cardinal's cassock, sailed away, like a red galleon, I suppose," says Mr. Belloc (on pages 209-10). Henry VIII is just " the big lad " (p. 55); and in 1931 Mr. Belloc envisages that " break with Rome, into which the unfortunate King was somewhat reluctantly forced." Anne Boleyn is elevated into supreme power, imperious, yet silent and reserved, of inflexible will, of single purpose, not the King's mistress, but " his master." She took the peerage of Pembroke not as Marchioness, but as Marquis. And what of the Cardinal? To Mr. Belloc, as dramatic historian, Wolsey " had it in his power, had he known his chances, to save our world. There was no other such complete opportunity in Europe. He failed. The tragedy is the tragedy of his failure. It is a tragedy general and particular, European and domestic. Christendom made shipwreck. At the origin of this disaster stands Wolsey." With such a theme is attuned the crescendo of descriptive phrases which may be traced throughout the course of this biographical drama. Wolsey is possessed by a " furious intensity of desire to govern others "; his " passion for false dealing," " flattery," " pliancy," spirit of " personal revenge " are but a few in that processional order of epithets that pass on to " shameful, shamefully, shamefully " (p. 285) reiterated within six lines. " He had no vision: the things of the moment absorbed him; he was concerned solely with the events of day to day." Thus in Mr. Belloc's opening paragraphs setting the stage; and Wolsey's " blindness " is stressed right through to the fall of the curtain. The power of pictorial invective, characteristic of the earlier Renaissance Humanists, manifestly endures.

Professor Pollard, too, has no small measure of that literary gift, and he knows it. The index to his work devotes a column to such terms of art set out alphabetically. They range from " aggressiveness " and " audacity " to " venom," " violence," and " wizardry,"

and few indeed are benign. The two writers agree about "audacity"; and if Mr. Belloc dwells on Wolsey's "triple appetite," Dr Pollard cites the phrase "unbounded stomach." But in the middle of Dr. Pollard's list, dominant in the number of references subjoined, stands "papalism." It is the theme of the central passage in the summary of his entire work. Henry saved England, writes Dr. Pollard, from "a church of Wolsey's conception, purely papal and autocratic, and incompatible with the spirit of self-determination." Wolsey "looked to Rome for all his remedies": "he instilled into Henry's mind the highest conceptions of papal power": "he was at times more papal than the pope." His Legateship he regarded as "incompatible with any other policy than that of the closest understanding with the Papacy from which it was derived." "It is to Wolsey's credit, as a Cardinal and as a Legate, that he should have consistently adapted his policy to that of the Sovereign Pontiff from whom he derived the dignities and the powers that he valued most."

Professor Pollard's cumulative presentation of this dominant fact in all Wolsey's work is an astonishing antithesis to the theme of Mr. Belloc's tragic muse. It is an antithesis much enforced by the frankness of his own position as an English historian. "The essential difference between Wolsey and Henry VIII was that the Cardinal was the protagonist of the *sacerdotium*, and the King of the *regnum*." "The youthful and lusty English nationality" found expression in that King. So "the ship of State cast off from its mediaeval moorings to immutable law and immemorial custom, and *started on its piratical cruise* at the expense of the Catholic Church." The candour of the head of the London Institute of Historical Research leads him at once to mark the sequence of the new policy. Not only did "the oppression of Ireland and the oppression of America" derive from the Englishmen of the Age of Revolt; but, in

Dr. Pollard's pregnant phrase, the English nation "had reached the age of consent" in the days of Henry VIII.

Thus writes the historian, of whom Mr. Belloc assures us that "the research and accuracy of this great scholar have almost exhausted the field of documents." On the position of the English nation the two writers are in substantial accord: Mr. Belloc realises that "from that religious revolution called 'The Reformation' modern England springs. The nation has long and rightly ascribed to the Reformation the qualities on which it prides itself." On Wolsey's aims, motives, work, most of all on his service to the Holy See, they widely differ. Professor Pollard could not be more emphatic as to the Cardinal Legate's unswerving loyalty to Rome. It is the head and front of his offences as an Englishman and as a subject of England's King. Because of it, Henry and England have rejected him. Mr. Belloc views the facts otherwise. "Wolsey was determined that he should be very Pope in England. With the level violence of his ambition, he achieved his end; he did not reform, for he was working for himself alone. Therein lies the meaning of Wolsey" (pages 171-172).

Professor Pollard's unreserved tribute to Wolsey's Catholic loyalty to Rome, enhanced as it is by the thoroughly Protestant and English mentality that appraises it, commends itself as the true finding. Wolsey did reform Catholic institutions in England. He did this work in complete unison with Roman decisions, taken long before his day, to be vigorously executed over Catholic Europe long after his day, though wrecked and wrenched then and ever since, within England, from that true and noble purpose which Wolsey had formed—not for himself, but for the enduring good of the plain people of his country.

This capital reform, the chief work of Wolsey within England, lay in the field of education. By downright

Catholic reform Wolsey planned to give the real people, from whom he sprang, free education of the highest Catholic and humanistic quality, free of personal cost alike in all schools and in the university. To that decisive reform, widely realised in Catholic Europe down to the French Revolution, Mr. Belloc and Professor Pollard have given no more attention than is indicated by a casual phrase at wide intervals in their work. M. Constant accords it some two pages out of nearly eight hundred. It may be of service to outline this vital Catholic and popular work of reform, to show what policy wrecked it, to indicate the national consequences of its rejection.

As recently as November 25, 1914, Mr. A. F. Leach, addressing the British Academy, affirmed that "no attempt has yet been made at any History of Education in England," and that "English writers have ignored alike their own educational history and educational institutions." This neglect and ignorance he expressly illustrates from the writings of such historians as John Richard Green and of such humanists as Richard Jebb; they and countless other writers exhibit numerous specimens of "egregious myths current," "myths that poison the well of knowledge at its source and distort the whole stream of educational history." To dissolve these myths, Leach had already set himself the tremendous task of detailed exploration into the schools of English counties. In the great series of County Histories of England, commenced at the close of the nineteenth century, seventeen such pieces of basic research work were published by him from 1905 to 1910, extending from Yorkshire and Lancashire in the North to Hampshire and Sussex on the South Coast. The result is conclusive. The provision of schools, primary and secondary, available in every part of these counties during the years 1490-1530, was not only ample but most generous. Herefordshire, for instance, had in 1520-1530 no less than seventeen

secondary or classical schools; the total population of the county was then about 30,000 persons. The provision of all grades of schools was, in proportion to the population, far more extensive in 1500-1530 than in 1850. In many counties it was not only proportionately, but even absolutely greater; and practically all this nation-wide net of secondary and elementary schools was well endowed and well staffed. Before the destruction of the schools under Henry VIII and Edward VI, as Bishop Stubbs wrote and as Thorold Rogers confirmed, "the bailiff of every manor kept his accounts in Latin" and wrote in a good hand. It was far otherwise, Rogers tells us, in 1700.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were, like the schools that supplied them, educational institutions of, for, and frequented by the people. Even before the investigations of A. F. Leach, this was made clear in the Oxford Commission Report (1852, pages 19, 136, 137) composed and signed by such representative Protestant scholars and ecclesiastics as A. C. Tait (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), A. P. Stanley (afterwards Dean of Westminster), H. P. Liddell, Goldwin Smith. "In the reign of Henry III (1216-72) the University of Oxford was the chief *free school* for the poor. Oxford Colleges were designed . . . to supply poor students, as long as they were poor and as long as they were students, but no longer, with a maintenance decent and honest, but of a very frugal character. Fellows are forbidden to keep dogs, for to give to dogs the bread of the children of men is not fitting for the poor, especially for those who live on alms. As Visitor of Merton College in 1284, Archbishop Peckham reproved the Fellows: 'Ye ought only to have received the indigent. Ye have no liberty to receive such as have sufficient to provide for themselves.'"

It was into this great field of democratic Catholic action that Wolsey, with all the prestige of his positions

as Cardinal, Archbishop, Chancellor, and Legate, entered in full vigour during the years 1520 to 1530. From Rome, by repeated and express grants of special powers, he received ample measure of special jurisdiction, superadded to his Legatine faculties. He planned a great extension of local secondary schools, educating boys free of all charge, throughout an eight years' classical course. To provide for them suitably in regard of free university studies, he designed and built Cardinal College, Oxford. Renamed King's College by the chief destroyer of English popular schools, later named Christchurch, it serves very different ends to-day; but the dignity of its great Hall shows how its founder, a man of the people, deemed that the sons of the people should be educated.

The financial provision for all this development of free popular education of the highest cultural quality was made, truly and well made, in strict accordance with the directions of the Holy See. Many smaller monastic and conventual foundations in England had passed out of their period of active usefulness. They were, invariably, composed of a very few monks, nuns, canons regular; and this situation had then and before, as to-day, been regarded by the Roman See as not conducing to good discipline and the due standards of religious efficiency. By a thoroughly laudable measure of Catholic Reform these small communities were now amalgamated with larger ones, and their surplus funds, entirely at the disposal of the Chair of Peter, were devoted to the bold extension of free popular secondary and university education. Gairdner, in his volume on *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century* (1902) gives a list of 27 of these foundations transformed in the years 1524-28. They are in ten counties, from Stafford southwards to Kent; but the list is entirely inadequate. It is certain that there were some 35 to 40 such amalgamations in Lincoln alone, and Lincoln is unrepresented in Gairdner's Appendix. Of the 27 which he gives, 12 were Benedictine

houses—3 of these were convents of nuns; 11 were houses of Austin Canons; 3 were Cluniac foundations, and 1 was of Prémontré.

It was to be expected that, in these small and comparatively inactive institutions, the bold measure of reform and progress would cause some temporary local soreness and discontent, due to family interests and influence. That there was no other or deeper trouble caused by this change and that due care was taken to explain its value to all the people is amply evidenced by the papers of the period. One such document may be cited as an example, in the official summary (*Letters* and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. IV. No. 1471). Archbishop Warham writes thus to Wolsey, 2-3 July, 1525 :—

> When he was at Tunbridge lately, he told the inhabitants there that he himself and Wolsey had thought it better, for themselves and for their children, perpetually to have 40 children of that country (Tunbridge—Cranebroke) to be brought up in learning and afterwards sent to Oxford, and that certain priests should there sing Mass perpetually for their founders, rather than to have six or seven canons. To this, all (of 16) except three wished the Canons restored; but desired to be allowed till Friday to consult their neighbours. At Otford, they finally referred the matter to the King's and Wolsey's pleasure. The matter was published by the parish priest of Cranebroke, by desire of the inhabitants of Tunbridge, in order to get the advice of those of Cranebroke, as it concerned the interests of both in regard to exhibitions at school.

The entirely Catholic character of this provision for the betterment alike of popular education and of religious discipline, developed on a wide scale by Wolsey, needs no justification. But were any desired, it could be advanced in peremptory form. Sir Thomas More, not in any way a close friend of Wolsey, applauded these measures. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, as Chancellor of Cambridge University, by exactly similar procedure and similar faculties from the Holy See, founded St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1511, increasing the

teaching power of his University by Fellowships, Scholarships, Greek and Hebrew Lectureships. The funds therefor he derived from the religious houses of Bromehall in the diocese of Salisbury and of Lillechurch in his own diocese. Nor is this by any means all. The extension of popular educational endowments by these processes of reform deriving from the Holy See and its plenitude of power and ownership, first put into operation on a large scale by Cardinal Wolsey in the years 1520-1530, was most fully ratified by the subsequent action of the Popes in conjunction with the Catholic Sovereigns of Europe, operative on a truly vast scale from 1540 to 1630 and later. Mainly by the transfer of the revenues of ecclesiastical and religious institutions when they were no longer fully serviceable in their previous organisation, were the universities and schools of the Age of Catholic Reform, often called the Counter-Reformation, established on all the fronts where Faith and Heresy were in conflict. The transfer was widespread, rapid, even sweeping in its thoroughness. Popes and Emperors and Kings, from St. Pius V to Urban VIII, from Ferdinand I to Ferdinand II, from Philip II to Louis XIII, thus made the full culture of Renaissance Humanism and Christian training available in free secondary schools, in free university instruction, most of all in the debatable lands—on the Danube, the Rhine, the Main, the Garonne, the Meuse, the Rhone. It was thus that the new Teaching Corps of the Church, developed rapidly under the impulse given to popular Catholic education in all grades by the Council of Trent, were enabled to wage the battle of the Faith in the schools and to cause the Religious Revolt to recoil, until, in Macaulay's phrase, the forces of innovation in religion, dominant on the line of the Danube in 1550, were by 1630 driven back almost to the shores of the Baltic. Beyond doubt, Wolsey was the first to devise and apply this progressive Catholic policy on a large scale. The idea that it was proved a dangerous

policy by reason of the Tudor confiscations of monastic and religious estates and revenues, 1536-1553, never at any time was entertained by the Holy See.

Nor was it merely in respect of administrative organisation that Cardinal Wolsey was a vigorous pioneer in the provision of educational opportunities for the real people. They were to learn to write with the bold and clear Roman script, a reform of capital importance, as all who deal in manuscript sources well know. Roman in their handwriting, they were to be able to speak clearly in the accent of the Italian Renaissance—*Italice eloqui*—when they were entered on Latin. The eight years of school courses in classical studies, 8 to 16 years of age, were provided for by his own detailed list of authors to be read and spoken each year. After the first year of beginners' grammar work followed the prescribed sequence: (2) Lily, and Cato's *Moralia;* (3) Aesop and Terence; (4) Virgil, sonorously to be spoken; (5) Cicero's *Letters;* (6) Sallust and Caesar; (7) Horace, *Epistles;* Ovid, *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti;* (8) Terence again, with Lorenzo Valla, Donatus, and with critical study of style, précis-work, and original essays in Latin. This progressive class-organisation, planned in detail by the Chancellor of England at the height of his occupation with European problems, places him a generation ahead of the best school organisations effected in France or in Italy. There is nothing of the select or palace school about these school statutes of Wolsey. We are witnesses to a thoroughgoing executive school plan for humanistic education, worked out for immediate use by a man of supreme energy and decision, a man of the people, who would see to it that the very best in school and university education, in the finest structural surroundings, should be provided free of all charge for the sons of the people.

The significance of Wolsey's plans, in their period and in their scope, can be best shown by one subsequent,

enduring, widespread educational fact. It was precisely this policy of free popular secondary and university education, with its doors wide open for all to enter, that was undertaken from 1545 by Peter Canisius and Jerome Nadal, the first instruments of the determinate designs of Ignatius of Loyola. When in 1759-1773 his work was arrested by an international combination of which Pombal and Pompadour were representative types, it could point to 650 colleges and universities working all over Europe, wherein the literature and the science of Christian humanism were placed, free of all charge and with no trace of class distinction or exclusivism, at the service of the children of the working people and of the noblesse, equally and together. For the entire people of his own race, Wolsey was, with fully mobilised energy, working out the same plan a score of years before the first Jesuit school was opened at Messina in Sicily.

The effects of the disastrous reversal of Wolsey's educational work have been nationwide. Increasingly, down to the present epoch, the classes placed in power by the confiscations under Henry VIII and Edward VI have seen to it—by suppression, by encroachment, by social monopoly—that the people of England shall not have that free, universal, liberal education which is necessary for the progress of a nation. The destruction of schools from 1533 to 1553 was overwhelming in its effects. The universities managed to survive ; but alike in resources, in students, in range and quality of work, they were maimed and crippled like the schools that fed them. Mark Pattison put it plainly in 1855 :—

> The period of Oxford Studies, which we may say terminated with the commencement of the agitation of the matter of the King's Divorce (1527-28) was the latest era in our history at which we find Oxford in the full enjoyment of all the extant culture... The disastrous years that ensued... blighted all culture, crushed all spirit, and checked progress... From that time to the present, the (two) Universities have ceased to originate, to rule, even to respond to, such intellectual activity as the nation has possessed.

The whole of that sphere of thought in which a liberal training consists, or by which it can be accomplished, has been abandoned by them. (*Oxford Studies*, Ed. 1889, pp. 448-9).

Led by such men as Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, uncle of Anne Boleyn, father of Catherine Howard, the beneficiaries of confiscation, the old nobility as well as the new, the coveteous classes of England converted to their own family uses the educational endowments of what was Catholic England. Norfolk, Mr. Belloc tells us (pp. 77-80), found the greatness of Wolsey, "the small grazier's son," an "irritant beyond bearing." "His determined and tireless hatred" was "high in the factors which dragged Wolsey down." Norfolk and Somerset secured 13 abbeys each; Suffolk, another duke, got 30; Cromwell, Earl of Essex, got six, including the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey inherited by that Oliver Williams who became Protector of England. With the abbeys went the schools which were for centuries before placed by pious founders under durable religious administration. The lesser plunderers dealt with over 250 Chantry School Foundations, mostly local classical schools, under Edward VI. Scarcely ten survived. In vain did Cranmer and Latimer protest. In vain did Speaker Williams, on January 15, 1562, tell Elizabeth of the destruction wrought on education in his own North country; Strype records his words:—

Being chosen Speaker to the lower house, he was presented to the Queen, and in his speech to her took notice of the want of schools: that at least a hundred were wanting in England, which before this time had been. He would have England flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from want of these good schoolmasters sprang up ignorance: and covetousness got the livings by impropriations, which was a decay, he said, of learning, which grew greatly to the dishonour both of God and of the Commonwealth.

Neither the newly enriched classes, nor their executive heads would have any dealings with popular education.

They soon evolved a philosophy of limitations and imposed it on England. Their philosopher was Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of Merchant Taylor's School, London, a chief agent of Cecil and Elizabeth in the educational perversion of orphan Catholic boys, 1561-1586. His views are candid, conclusive, of great historical moment :—

> Certainly there is great need, the thing is more than needful, to restrain the number that will to the book. While the Church was a harbour for all men to ride in, which knew any letter, there needed no restraint. The state is now altered. There is as great difference between suffering all to book in our days, and the like liberty in the ruffe of the Papacy among us, as there is between the two religions. The expelled religion was supported by multitude. The retained religion must pitch her defence in some paucity of choice. So that our time, of necessity, must restraine. If not, what you breed, the adversary part will allure. (Ed. R. H. Quick, 1888, p. 148).

To effect this policy of educational restraint, it was not sufficient to seize on the school endowments of the poor, such as those of Winchester, Eton, and such others as contrived to survive the destructive plunderers of 1533-1553. Any new endowments must also be wrested to the service of the landed proprietors and the new merchant class. Hence their universal occupation of such schools as Harrow, Shrewsbury, Rugby, Dulwich. Hence, within the last seventy years, the propagation of the legal view that a bequest for the education of the children of *pauperes et indigentes* is to be interpreted so as to mean the sons of the gentry, younger sons, and not otherwise. By continuous and omnipresent encroachment, the "upper" and the "propertied" classes in England have most successfully absorbed that educational property of the poor which still remained in the days of the daughters of Henry VIII. By quiet but steady intrusion they have achieved in 300 years what the school of Voltaire and of La Chalotais, operative from 1760 to 1790 on French political thought, bitterly hostile

and derisive of all popular education, was able in 1790-1793 to effect by universal confiscation of the educational endowments of the people of France. The effects in France from 1793 were as those in England from 1553. The opportunities of these entire peoples for free, democratic, universal education, of the best humanistic type, were in both cases destroyed. Their recovery, in these years 1931-33, is barely commencing.

Nor is this all. Voltaire repeatedly wrote, 1762-1766, that the working population of France, rural and urban alike, must be debarred from all chances of learning to read and to write: "Il me paraît essentiel qu'il y ait des gueux ignorants; on n'a besoin que d'une plume pour deux cents ou trois cents bras." So, in England—most of all from 1770 to 1850, the age of the Industrial Revolution—mill-owners and squires, shopkeepers and manufacturers were determined that the people of England should have as little education as possible. Brougham found this spirit widespread in 1820, as Hannah More did in 1780. Furnivall marked it in Hampshire in 1860. Dr. Alfred Percival Graves tells us, in his *Return to All That*, that it was universal among the West Country squires and magistrates and farmers, 1880 to 1890. The workers must not even learn to read. Protestant England in 1845 was, as to the elements of popular education, immensely inferior to Catholic France as she stood in 1785. Exhaustive analysis of marriage registers in Normandy, for the years 1783-1788 from Caen and Lisieux across to Avranches, has shown that well over 80 per cent. of the adult population could write. According to the Registrar-General's figures for the years 1839-45, the corresponding figures for England were only 42 per cent. at the best.

The destruction of Wolsey's magnificent and most practical plans for the thorough development of popular education in England had thus, in the course of three centuries, worked out the fullness of a national disaster.

The Legate of the Holy See planned nobly for education. It was his greatest constructive design. It was rapidly approaching full execution, from the Tyne to the Solent, from Lancashire to Kent, in 1530. It was fully sanctioned by the successors of Saint Peter, both of them from the House of Medici, the son and the nephew of the great Lorenzo, patron of letters. Leo X gave ample faculties for this constructive reform to John Fisher; Clement VII repeatedly gave them to Thomas Wolsey. What the counter-policy of those avid men, who operated the Religious Revolt, arrived at after 300 years of evolution, may be seen from two typical instances taken from representative modern biographies of the clergy of the Tudor Establishment, urban and rural. Consider the following account of an Anglican parish in the City of Winchester, 1840-1842 :—

> Violent opposition was made to the establishment of parochial schools, not only by a number of small shopkeepers, who were bitterly prejudiced and ignorant, but also by the old High Church gentry of the parish, who looked upon schools as dangerous innovations. (*Life* of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A., by Stopford A. Brooke, M.A., Chaplain to the Queen, 1873, i. 55).

Add to it this survey of the educational conditions of the Anglican parish of Eversley, Hampshire, England, when duty was taken up there by Charles Kingsley (1819-75; Rector of Eversley, 1844-69; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria, 1859; Canon of Westminster, 1873) :—

> There was not a grown-up man or woman in the parish, of the labouring class, who could read or write. For as boys and girls they had all been glad to escape early to field-work, from the parish clerk's little stifling room, ten feet square, where cobbling shoes, teaching, and caning all went on together. As to religious instruction, they had none. (*Letters and Life.* 1877. Vol. I., p. 123).

T. Corcoran

BEGINNINGS OF LATIN CULTURE IN IRELAND

BY EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

Professor of Early Irish History, University College, Dublin

FOR the majority, even of the educated, philology is one of the driest of sciences. Those whom philology does not interest may be apt to think that the study of the development of languages leads nowhere beyond itself and does not increase our knowledge about other things. This would be a very grave error. The history of the wonderful phenomenon of European civilisation is in part dependent on philological studies. For the understanding of Irish history, except in a late ultra-political phase, the aid of the philologist is indispensable, and those students who, like the present writer, have to rely on the philological guidance of experts, find that guidance necessary in their historical studies almost at every hand's turn. How much may depend on philology will be exemplified in the following pages.

The peculiarly British features of the pronunciation of Latin are due to changes which took place in British Celtic. Under Roman rule, in Britain as in Gaul and Spain, Latin became the language of culture and education. It was spoken side by side with the British language, and it became the home language of the people of education and position. St. Patrick, in his *Confession*, shows that he was brought up speaking Latin, but apparently as a second language, for otherwise his six years of captivity, between the ages of 15 and 22, would not have weakened his command of Latin to the extent that his words indicate. Owing to its being a spoken language among them, Latin underwent among the Britains certain changes of pronunciation which their native language was undergoing at the same time. These changes are manifested in the

forms taken by Latin loanwords, words of direct Latin origin, in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. They are also manifested in the early orthography of these languages.

The same changes, British not Irish, are observed in a large body of early Latin loanwords in the Irish language, and likewise in its early orthography. The Irish language also, before it began to be written in manuscript, underwent a number of phonetic changes. To a small extent the Irish changes coincide with the British changes. In the main they are distinct, and to the greatly different course of change in Ireland and in Britain is largely due the wide dissimilarity between the languages of later times spoken and written. Notwithstanding this different course, the bulk of the loanwords from Latin in Old Irish, *i.e.*, Irish as written in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries—exhibit (wherever the distinction is possible) changes in the pronunciation of Latin which are quite distinct from the changes that had taken place in the Irish language and quite similar to the changes that had taken place in the British language.

The conclusion drawn by philologists from these data is thus stated by Miss Cecile O'Rahilly (*Ireland and Wales*, p. 49) : " We have in Old Irish a number of loanwords, ecclesiastical terms and words bearing on general civilisation, introduced from Latin into Irish, the Irish sounds of which are explicable only on the hypothesis that they reached Irish ears from the mouths of British Celts." This statement requires some modification. In one direction it may be strengthened : there is not merely " a number of loanwords," the main body of loanwords which Old Irish derives from Latin shows the distinctive marks of the British pronunciation where the distinction is possible. This, however, does not necessarily imply that, one by one, these words " reached Irish ears from British mouths." In many cases it is possible and likely that they passed direct from the Latin language into Irish, but from a Latin which the Irish had learned to pronounce

after the British manner. It is, in fact, demonstrable that a British pronunciation of Latin became established in Ireland at a date preceding the oldest known writings in Irish (the ogham inscriptions not included), and continued to be used in Ireland until the fourteenth century. With this qualification, the conclusion of the philologists, as stated by Miss O'Rahilly, is not disputed.

The matter obviously becomes one of historical importance and demands historical explanation. The explanation offered by Zimmer is conveniently summarized by Miss O'Rahilly in a footnote: "Zimmer has shown (*Celtic Church*, p. 21) that it is 'highly probable' that these loanwords, the oldest layer of Latin loanwords in Irish, were introduced into Irish by Britons before the first half of the fifth century." Upon this it must be observed, first, that the loanwords referred to do not represent the oldest layer of Latin loanwords in Irish; and secondly, that they could not have been introduced into Irish before the middle of the fifth century.

Undoubtedly there was a large influx of Britons into Ireland within the period A.D. 250 to 430. Most of these were enslaved captives. Saint Patrick testifies that, in the single raid in which he was made captive, thousands of others were carried off to Ireland and dispersed in different parts of the country—he uses the same phrase, *tot millia hominum*, in both his documents. There may have been many such raids, though perhaps not on so large a scale, during the period of the Irish aggression, and it is quite reasonable to think that the captives must have brought a considerable number of Latin words into the Irish language. Thurneysen (*Handbuch des Altirischen*, I., 516) lays chief stress on the later missionary period. It will be seen, however, that there is a very early layer of Latin loanwords in Irish which do not exhibit the distinctive British mutations. From this it follows, either that these words came to Ireland direct from the Continent and not "from British mouths," or (as is probable) that they

came to Ireland before the time of the distinctive British mutations.

The oldest Irish form of the name Patricius is Cothrige, which goes back to a pronunciation Patrikios[1] (from which the later Patric was derived)—not to a pronunciation *Padrigius. Similarly Sachall, for the Latin Sachellus (Sacellus), could not have arisen from a British pronunciation *Sagellus; nor could the form Sechnall come from Secundinus if the word had been pronounced in its owner's lifetime *Segundinus. Secundinus died in 447, Patricius in 461. The changes which their names underwent exemplify changes which were general throughout the Irish language. Hence it is to be inferred that any other Latin words which were introduced into Irish before or during their time must afterwards have undergone similar changes. These names in their Irish forms, Cothrige, Sechnall, Sachall, show no trace of the distinctive British mutations. It follows that any earlier loanwords or contemporary loanwords from Latin were subject to the same changes and, if they had already suffered British mutations in British mouths, they would have suffered a further change,their characteristic British sounds being subjected to characteristic Irish mutations. Nothing of the kind has been observed. It follows further that the Latin loanwords in Irish which preserve a distinctive British pronunciation cannot have been introduced either in the period preceding St. Patrick's mission or by St. Patrick and his fellow-missionaries. They must have come at a later time.

The most prominent mutation in the Celtic languages of Ireland and Britain is that of a consonant following a vowel. In the case of the mediae, *b*, *d*, *g*, and in addition *m*,

[1] The Irish, in their intercourse with the Britons, became familiar with the fact that Q in an Irish word was represented by P in the corresponding British word; and so, consciously or unconsciously, when they learned from the Britons a new word containing the sound P, they substituted Q (C) for P in introducing the word into their own speech.

the changes were similar in both languages. These sounds were softened into the corresponding spirants, a change familiar to students of Irish. The same changes took place in the early Latin loanwords, hence the word *liber*, taken over from Latin, has become *leabhar* in Irish. Since these changes are similar in both branches of Celtic, they do not help to decide whether the word in Irish was taken over from Latin in a form already modified by British pronunciation or at an earlier time before the British modification took effect. They are not distinctive.

In the case of the tenues, *p*, *t*, *c* (=*k*), it is quite different. In the British language these sounds, when they followed a vowel, were changed to the corresponding mediae, *b*, *d*, *g*. In Irish (apart from *p*, which in Irish undergoes a special handling, being a sound foreign at the time to the Irish language) *t* became *th*, *c* became *ch*. Take, for example, an ancient Celtic name *Dúnocatus*, "fortress-battler." In Irish it became *Dúnchath* (later *Dúnchadh*), in Welsh it became *Dingad*. So, if we find in Irish a word of Latin origin which exhibits the changes observed in *Dúnchath*, we recognise that these changes are independent of the distinctive British mutation and do not prove that the Latin word "reached Irish ears from British mouths." Such a word is *peacadh* "sin," in Old Irish *peccath*, from the Latin *peccatum*. In Welsh, Latin *peccatum* had become *pechaud*. (The British change of *cc* to *ch* is not exemplified in the earlier strata of Latin loanwords in Irish, and so is likely not to have worked out until after their introduction. So far as it can be dated, it serves to fix the later limits of the special British influence in the Latin culture of Ireland). This distinctive British mutation of post-vocalic tenuis to media is not found in the names *Sachall*, *Sechnall*, *Cothrige*—the *g* in *Cothrige* is a spirant, not a media. The changes in these names follow the Irish rule of mutation, which, therefore, must have been operative after the middle of the fifth century.

There is a considerable number of Latin loanwords in Irish which exhibit in this respect the distinctive Irish mutation, and which therefore must have been introduced into Irish in the fifth century at latest. Some of them are clearly associated with Christian and ecclesiastical usage. Such are *peccath*, *abbath* (Latin *abbat*—"abbot," *bachal* (Latin *baculus*), meaning a bishop's crozier or a pilgrim's staff, *cuthe* (Latin *puteus*), a pit or dungeon. The corresponding Welsh words, showing the distinctive British mutations, are *pechod*, *abad*, *bagl*, *pyd*.

In Irish the consonant group *st*, following a vowel, became *ss*, later *s*. In British Celtic the same group remained unchanged. The Celtic personal name *Cunogustus* became in Old Irish *Congus* (with spirant *g*), in Old Welsh *Cinust*. So, when we find in Irish a Latin loanword in which Latin *st* has become *ss* or *s*, we recognise that it is not likely to have "reached Irish ears from British mouths." Such a word is *caissel*, *caisel*, from the Latin *castellum*. It is the ordinary word for the stone-built enclosure of a monastery, and, as the name of the chief seat of the kings of Munster, it must have been in use in St. Patrick's time. The corresponding loanword in Welsh is *castell*. Corresponding in meaning and in familiar usage to the English word "pint" was the Latin *sextarius*. Borrowed into Irish, it became *sessra*. In Welsh it became *hestaur*.

The same word exemplifies two other chief distinctions between the British and the Irish mutations of early loanwords from Latin. The two insular branches of Celtic developed two very different ways of accentuating or stressing the syllables of their words. Irish developed a very strongly marked stress-accent on the first syllable, whereas the main stress in British words fell on the second last syllable. A consequence of the Irish stress was that in the first syllable a long vowel was preserved long, but in any other syllable no vowel remained long, and in the second or fourth syllable, which had the minimum stress,

the vowels disappeared altogether—apparent exceptions to this rule are explained by the philologists. In Welsh, on the contrary, a long vowel in the second last syllable was preserved long—here again the apparent exceptions are explained in philological works. Thus the long *a* of *sextarius* disappears completely in *sessra*, but is represented by *au* in Old Welsh *hestaur*. This difference furnishes another criterion for distinguishing in Irish the Latin loanwords which show evidence of having come through the British medium from others showing no such evidence.

From *sextarius*, again, can be illustrated another distinction between the Irish and the British mutations. In the Irish mutation, Latin endings such as *-ia*, *-io*, *-ius*, *-ium*, *-ea*, *-eus*, etc., are represented in loanwords by a short vowel. This has been already exemplified in *Cothrige*, *cuthe*, *sessra*. In the British mutation, such Latin endings, becoming monosyllabic, disappear altogether. A characteristic example is furnished in the forms taken by the Latin *oratio* in Irish and Welsh. As an early loanword in Irish, *oratio* became *orthu*. We may note, in passing, the complete disappearance of the long vowel in the second syllable and the change of the following *t* to *th*. In modern Irish *orthu* has become *artha*, a normal development, and the word now means a charm formula or a spell—I am acquainted with one man, a repository of Irish folklore, who stoutly insists that his *arthanna*, of which he has not a few, are truly *orationes*, Christian prayers. In Welsh *oratio* became *araud*, *arawd*, but with *d* written as *t*, and this word "from British mouths" became *oróid* (written *oróit*) in Old Irish, *óráid* being a modern improvement.

There are other points of distinction into which we need not enter now. It is sufficient to show that, beside the layer of Latin loanwords which exhibit the distinctive mould of the British mouth, there is in Irish an ancient layer of Latin loanwords which differ from these precisely

in their distinctive characteristics. The student of philology will easily recognise that this last-named layer must necessarily be of earlier introduction and formation than the layer which exhibits the distinctive British characteristics. If the British layer, as we may call it for brevity, had come in earlier or as early, it would have been subjected to the same mutations as the other layer: its postvocalic consonants would have changed to spirants; its *st* would have become *ss*; its long vowels, except in first syllables, would have become short, or would have disappeared. It did not suffer these mutations. Therefore this British layer is not the oldest layer of Latin loanwords in Irish; it was not introduced by Britons, captive, Christian or otherwise, before the time of St. Patrick's mission, as Zimmer imagined; it was not even introduced by St. Patrick and his fellow-missionaries, as Thurneysen postulates. It came later, and its later coming has special historical significance and demands explanation.

A valuable collection of the early Latin loanwords in Irish has been published by Vendryes. They are not distinguished into the earlier and later strata. Indeed Vendryes in his introduction adopted the hypothesis of Zimmer, which apparently has had the effect of derailing the course of investigation. The collection of Vendryes would afford material for a fuller study of a subject which I have ventured to deal with here only by way of exemplification. So far as my observation has gone, the early stratum, showing no distinctive British characteristics, is of small extent in comparison with the later layer. Two reasons can be assigned for this. The introduction of the later layer can be associated with certain dominating factors of Irish history, the great expansion of monastic institutions in Ireland, and the concomitant development of Latin literary culture. These developments do not belong to St. Patrick's time nor to any time within the fifth century. In many instances the words which came in with the earlier stratum must have yielded place to

corresponding words of the later stratum. This is exemplified in *orthu*, a comparatively rare word in Old Irish and one which became diverted to a special meaning. But the most striking example is the name of the national apostle. Its earlier form, *Cothrige*, became a mere memory, and was completely replaced in ordinary use by *Pátric*, pronounced as in our time *Pádr(a)ig*, which exhibits the British mutations, *t* becoming *d*, *c* becoming *g*, and the ending *-ius* disappearing altogether.

Perhaps the most remarkable trait of the British-Latin culture influence in Ireland is to be found in the orthographic system of Old Irish, in the phonetic values of the consonants. Following a vowel, and sometimes in other positions, the sound of a media is expressed by a tenuis. For example, the name which was pronounced *Pádrig* was written *Pátric*. The sounds of spirant *b*, *d*, *g*, and *m* were expressed by these letters simply. To understand this apparent anomaly, we must recognise that the orthographic system of manuscript Irish was based on the current pronunciation of Latin. In the oghams, which continue to be inscribed as late as the seventh century, there is quite a different orthographic system, which has its own distinctive features. The spelling of the manuscripts is not derived from the spelling of the oghams and is not influenced by them. The spelling of the oghams shows no trace of influence from that of the manuscripts. The oghams express the sounds of *b*, *d*, *g* by their normal symbols for *b*, *d*, *g*, never by *p*, *t*, *c*. The explanation of the substituted letters in the manuscript spelling is this, that at the time when the manuscript spelling was established, *p*, *t*, *c*, following a vowel in Latin, were read and pronounced as *b*, *d*, *g*. *Tacitus* was pronounced *Tagidus*. This pronunciation of Latin came from Britain, and it became universal in the Latin schools of Ireland. It continued in use in Ireland down to the fourteenth century. The same peculiar features are found in the orthographic system of Old Welsh and, earlier still, in certain Latin

inscriptions of the post-Roman period in western Britain.

The explanation of the dominant British-Latin culture influence in Ireland is to be found in the great monastic development of the sixth century and in the remarkable development of Latin learning which grew therefrom. This great monastic development was not the work of St. Patrick and his fellow-missionaries. St. Patrick's *Confession* shows that he encouraged women, as well as men, to take up the monastic life ; but there was no great development of monasticism in Ireland for half a century after his time, and the Church which he organised in Ireland was an episcopal Church in the ordinary sense. For half a century after his time there is no sign of the growth of that Latin culture which was to distinguish Ireland in a later period—no schools of celebrity, no writers of name, no writings of note, nothing to indicate that the use or cultivation of Latin went beyond the needs of a missionary Church.

The great stimulus to monastic development and to the concurrent development of Latin literary culture came from South Wales, especially from St. Cadoc and St. David, and from their monasteries of Llancarvan and Menevia. It was from these sources, early in the sixth century, that the associated expansion of monasticism and Latin learning began in Ireland, with the result that distinctive British traits were imprinted on the Latin culture of Ireland and became exemplified, in the manner above described, in the pronunciation of Latin throughout the schools of Ireland, in the form taken by Latin words adopted into the Irish language and in the orthography of that language. To deal more amply with this aspect of the case would require the writing of a chapter of British history and a chapter of Irish history.

The earliest works in Latin ascribed to Irish writers will be discussed in a further article.

Eoin MacNeill.

IRISH BISHOPS IN NEWFOUNDLAND (1794–1893)

BY REV. P. W. BROWNE, D.D., PH.D.

THOUGH people in the south and the west of Ireland know a great deal about Newfoundland ("Talav-an Eisg"), to most Americans the island is a *terra incognita;* and even those who know that it is more than a "geographical expression," think that it is merely an appanage of the Dominion of Canada. Newfoundland is not connected with Canada politically or otherwise; and the fact is that the Ancient Colony is more closely related, commercially, to the United States than to its younger sister in the British Commonwealth. Ecclesiastically, the nomination of the first Prefect-Apostolic of Newfoundland was contemporaneous with the appointment of the first Prefect-Apostolic of the United States, and the hierarchical careers of the Franciscan, James Louis O'Donel, and the Jesuit, John Carroll, began in 1784. It will surprise many to learn that the little city of St. John's has an older, larger, and more imposing cathedral than the great city of New York; and it is worthy of note that one of the earliest archiepiscopal acts of the Most Rev. John Hughes, first archbishop of New York, was performed at St. John's on September 9, 1855, when he officiated as co-consecrator of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist.

The only Catholic historian in the United States who even mentions the Catholic Church in Newfoundland is John Gilmary Shea,[1] "the Bede of the American Church"; but he discusses merely the attempt of Baltimore to establish a settlement within his Palatinate of Avalon.

Baltimore's venture was a failure; and it had a

[1] *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 28-32 (New York, 1886).

precarious existence of less than two years. It left no results, and all that remains of the Ferryland settlement is an ancient wall which is said to be part of Baltimore's residence. The Catholic Church in Newfoundland had its beginnings, not in the Baltimore Avalonian venture, but in the Irish diaspora. It was nurtured by Irishmen and firmly established by Irish bishops.

Though we have no data regarding the first Irish Catholics who came to Newfoundland, it is possible that some had reached the Island as early as 1595. The Dublin Company (Falkland's) sent a number of colonists to the Island; and many of them came from the southern counties in Ireland, and there is a statement to the effect that "much of the Irish and Catholic influence in Newfoundland is due to Falkland's Company"[1]. Additional evidence of the presence of Irish Catholics in Newfoundland during the latter part of the seventeenth century may be gathered from the fact that most of the vessels engaged in the Anglo-Newfoundland fisheries had a number of "youngsters" from Cork and Waterford among their crews. Many of these did not return to Ireland, but they settled on the eastern and the southern shores of Avalon, in small coves and harbours, where they would be free from molestation by English officials, and we find mention of several Irish settlers among French fishermen at Plaisance (Placentia) after 1680.

Shortly after the French had established their "capital" at Placentia, it became a dependency of the Diocese of Quebec; and on March 22, 1689, Bishop St. Vallier issued a *mandement* to the Recollet, Fr. Seraphin Georgien, guardian of the Convent of Our Lady of the Angels at Quebec, granting him permission "to erect in the said town [Placentia] a hospice or even a convent .... there to exercise the usual duties of your Order .... It is our will also that you discharge the duties of the Mission to the faithful .... in the said town and other

[1] Pedley, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 24 (London, 1863).

places adjacent. . . ." [1] In the same year the Bishop made a pastoral visit to Placentia, which remained in possession of the French until 1713, when the settlers were obliged to abandon it by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht.

In the interim many Irish Catholics had settled in Conception Bay and in the neighbourhood of St. John's, where they were barbarously treated by English officials. This we learn from information furnished by a Recollet priest who was chaplain with D'Iberville's soldiers when they overran the peninsula of Avalon during the campaign of 1696-97.[2]

From judicial records of punishments inflicted on Irish Catholics in Newfoundland, during the early part of the following century, we infer a steady and increasing influx of the sons of Innisfail; and from the census of 1763 we find that out of a total population of 13,112, there were 4,795 Irish Catholics in the colony, despite the fact that English officialdom seemed to regard it as a duty to enforce, *without warrant*, iniquitous penal laws. By way of illustration :—In 1755, during Governor Dorrill's administration, several priests—whose names are unknown to us—were deported, and numbers of the laity were brutally treated. In the little town where the writer was born, two Catholic tenants occupied the house of a Protestant named Pike, and it became known that a priest had celebrated Mass there. Dorrill ordered the magistrate to fine them *forty pounds* (about $250) and to banish them from the country. In the same year a surrogate issued an order to a Justice of the Peace named Garland, to fine one Michael Keating at Harbour Main *fifty pounds* and to destroy the place where Mass had been celebrated. "These were not the only sufferers; sixteen others in Harbour Main and many at Harbour

[1] Têtu, *Les Evêques de Québec* (Quebec, 1889).

[2] *Journal du Sieur de Baudoin*, Ms. in Canadian archives at Ottawa, of which the writer has a transcript.

Grace and Carbonier were convicted, and in every case the building where the service had been held was destroyed."[1]

There was formerly much discussion as to the jurisdiction of the priests who were in Newfoundland about this time; but my colleague Dr. Guilday, who has rendered such great service to the cause of Catholic history in the United States and in the English colonies, has definitely settled the matter by his painstaking researches. The missionaries in Newfoundland obtained their Faculties from the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District.[2] These itinerant priests, however, do not seem to have been held in great repute, especially in St. John's; and on January 14, 1784 "three men of Waterford" (apparently with the endorsement of Bishop Egan of that city) addressed to Bishop Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, a letter to the following effect:—

"The Roman Catholics of St. John's, Newfoundland, have appointed the undersigned Commissioners, having obtained permission for the full exercise of their religion; and have unanimously called for the Rev. Mr. James O'Donel of this city to become their Pastor; he possessing a knowledge of Irish and English, the former absolutely necessary. He is to bring with him two other clergy from the diocese, as 78 per cent. of the inhabitants of N.F.L. are from thence. The favour and request we have now to make to your Lordship is that you will be pleased to vest and give full power to Mr. O'Donel for this mission, in order that it may be under his direction while there . . . . . and that no clergyman be suffered to officiate there without his approbation. . . . ."

Signed, JAMES KEATING, PAT. GANLY, JOHN CUMMINS.[3]

On January 19 of the same year there is a letter from Fr. James Louis O'Donel, O.S.F. to Bishop Talbot, which reads:—

"Having been unanimously chosen by the Newfoundlanders to be their Spiritual Director, I've consented to struggle with

[1] Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 294 (London, 1895).

[2] Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, pp. 134-138 (New York, 1922).

[3] *Westminster Archives*, vol. xlii (44).

the difficulties of a voyage of 600 leagues and the severity of a climate immoderately cold, to endeavour promote the Honor of God in Interest of Religion. Should your Lordship think proper to gratify these people by appointing me for that mission, I humbly beg leave to inform you that it would be absolutely necessary to grant me Vicarial Power, as a fence against many unworthy Incroachers, who intend not only to goe to that country but even say they'l apply to you for Jurisdiction ; the bulk of the Inhabitants of New Found Land are Ignorant labouring men from this neighbourhood, and as it has been the general haunt of many immoral people these 40 years past, I foresee I must stumble upon many difficult cases, and as I would have no opportunity of recurring to you but once a year it would be necessary to grant me as ample and full power as possible."[1]

Some few months later Fr. O'Donel was appointed Prefect-Apostolic of Newfoundland, and with him begins a series of Irish Franciscan Bishops who governed the Church in Newfoundland until the death of Bishop Mullock in 1869.[2]

When Fr. O'Donel arrived in St. John's he found himself facing a very serious situation ; religion was at a low ebb ; drunkenness was quite prevalent ; and there was a great laxity of morals. To add to his difficulties, many of the penal restrictions remained, though it had been officially ordered that Catholics should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion. A singular situation existed in St. John's where not even a chimney could be built without the permission of the Governor. Fr. O'Donel immediately secured a small plot of land in the centre of the town, and within a few months erected the " Old Chapel." The tyranny of the officials did not cease, however, and in 1788 a letter of " accusation " was written against him by a surrogate named Pellu, which suggested to the Governor " that Irish

[1] *Ibid.* vol. xlii (42). In the *Westminster Archives* there is another document from Bishop Egan of Waterford, endorsing Fr. O'Donel's application, which is too lengthy to reproduce.

[2] The biographical data concerning the Irish Franciscan Bishops were graciously supplied to the writer some years ago by the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent, Merchant's Quay, Dublin.

Catholics should be banished from the country, and if any more priests arrived they should be shipped off immediately, and that no priests be allowed to remain except where there was a garrison to keep them in awe."[1] Fr. O'Donel was evidently not perturbed by Pellu's accusation; for he immediately applied to Governor Milbanke for permission to erect chapels to meet the demands of the Catholic population. Milbanke, in reply to this request, informed Fr. O'Donel that "so far from being disposed to allow of an increase of places of worship for Roman Catholics of the Island, he very seriously intends next year to lay those established under particular restrictions."

By 1794 Catholics had become so numerous and influential in the affairs of the colony that they appealed to the Holy See that Fr. O'Donel be appointed a titular Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic of Newfoundland, and in their petition to Pius VI they made allusion to the recent appointment of Fr. John Carroll to the See of Baltimore. To this appeal the Holy Father made a gracious response, and on January 5, 1796, James Louis O'Donel was named Bishop of Thyatira (*i.p.i.*) and Vicar-Apostolic of Newfoundland. He was consecrated by the Right Rev. Jean-François Hubert in the City of Quebec, September 21, of the same year.

One of the earliest episcopal acts of the new Prelate was the issuance of a body of Diocesan Statutes for the guidance of the priests under his jurisdiction, all of whom were Franciscans. The Vicariate was divided into four "jurisdictions," or Districts, which were placed under the direction of experienced missionaries.

Bishop O'Donel never had an episcopal residence; his official abode in St. John's was an ancient house which had formerly been the gubernatorial residence, for which he paid an annual rental of less than thirty dollars. There was no actual episcopal residence in St. John's until

[1] Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, p. 190 (Boston, 1888).

1807, when Bishop O'Donel's successor, Dr. Lambert, built the "Old Palace," which for nearly seventy years was the home of the bishops and the priests of St. John's.

Towards the end of 1805 Bishop O'Donel, owing to ill-health, tendered his resignation to the Holy See, and asked that a successor be appointed. The priest chosen to succeed him was a brother Franciscan, Fr. Patrick Lambert, who was consecrated in the Franciscan chapel at Wexford, in April 1806, as titular Bishop of Chitra (*i.p.i.*) and Vicar-Apostolic of Newfoundland; he came out to St. John's immediately after his consecration. Bishop O'Donel remained in Newfoundland for more than a year after the appointment of his successor. He then returned to Waterford, where he spent his declining years and where he died April 15, 1811. A Protestant historian[1] of Newfoundland says of him :—

> [His] name is one of the most honoured in the colony; his deeply religious character, his polished manners, and his inherent goodness won all hearts. He had to overcome terrible obstacles—the prejudices and opposition of the strait-laced old admiral Milbanke and the rampant Protestantism of his surrogate . . . . His arrival and his sojourn in the Colony are of far more importance to us than the advent of half-a-dozen admiral-governors. He brought peace, quiet, and good order. . . . . In fulfilment of the divine injunction to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, Dr. O'Donel taught his people to be good Christians and good citizens.

During Dr. O'Donel's episcopate the Irish people in St. John's emerged from the catacombs of ostracism to which they had been so long relegated, and there came into being an organization—the Benevolent Irish Society (established in 1806)—which had a two-fold purpose, social and educational. Though non-denominational at its inception, the Society soon became Catholic, and in addition to the enormous amounts expended in charity, it spent large sums in providing education for the Catholic children of St. John's. At the present time it owns and

[1] Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 363 (London, 1895).

maintains the largest educational establishment in the city, which is under the direction of the Irish Christian Brothers.

When Fr. Lambert was raised to the episcopate, he was advanced in years, and he was really too feeble for the arduous work awaiting him in Newfoundland. He was physically unable to visit the outlying districts, known as "out-ports," and confined most of his activities to St. John's and the nearby missions. During his episcopate was built the episcopal residence, "the old palace," and the "Old Chapel" was enlarged to meet the requirements of a rapidly-growing population. Overwhelmed by the increasing burdens of the Vicariate, Bishop Lambert resigned in 1816 (?) and retired to Wexford, where he died September 23, 1816. For some time previous to his death Bishop Lambert was in receipt of a pension of seventy-five pounds per annum (less than $400), granted by the British Government "in consideration of the respectability attached to [his] station as Head of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland, and of the highly creditable and meritorious manner in which [he] discharged the duties of [his] important offices."[1]

His successor, Fr. Thomas Scallan, O.S.F., was a native of Wexford, and had been a distinguished teacher in Rome for many years, when he returned to his native city, where he became Guardian of the Franciscan Convent. In 1812 Bishop Lambert, then on a visit to Ireland, persuaded Fr. Scallan to accompany him to Newfoundland. After spending three years on the Mission, he returned to Ireland, and by a Brief of Pius VII, of date April 4, 1815, was appointed titular Bishop of Drago; by another Brief, dated January 25, 1816, he was named coadjutor to Bishop Lambert. He was consecrated in the Franciscan church at Wexford, May 1, 1816. Bishop Scallan came out to St. John's immediately

[1] *ibid.* p. 363.

after his consecration, and governed the Vicariate of Newfoundland for thirteen years. In 1828 he requested the Holy See to be relieved of the burdens of the episcopate, and asked for a coadjutor *cum futura successione*, recommending Fr. Michael Anthony Fleming, O.S.F., for the office. Fr. Fleming was appointed Bishop of Carpasia (*i.p.i.*) and Vicar-Apostolic of Newfoundland, with the right of succession. Bishop Scallan consecrated him on October 8, 1829, and died a few months later. There is a splendid monument to this cultured bishop in the cathedral at St. John's, representing the dying prelate receiving the last sacraments at the hands of his successor.

During Bishop Scallan's episcopate living conditions in Newfoundland had improved; the Catholic population had grown to about 30,000; and many of the iniquitous regulations that had hitherto impeded the progress of the island had fallen into desuetude; so that with the advent of his successor, Dr. Fleming, a better prospect was visioned for the Ancient Colony.

Bishop Fleming was well equipped for the gigantic task which confronted him; he knew at first hand the needs of the Mission and understood its difficulties. Born at Carrick-on-Suir in 1792, Michael Anthony Fleming entered the Franciscan Order in 1808, and as the Franciscan colleges on the continent were closed at the time, he made his studies in Wexford, under the capable direction of Fr. Richard Hayes and Fr. Henry Hughes (later Vicar-Apostolic of Gibraltar). Fr. Fleming came to St. John's at the request of Bishop Scallan in 1823, where he did mission work—except for a short interval spent in Ireland—until the time of his consecration in 1829—the year of Catholic Emancipation. There were unmistakable echoes of this great achievement in Newfoundland, of which the agitation for Local Government (Home Rule) was possibly the most significant. The outstanding leaders in this movement were Irish Catholics,

who seem to have been imbued with the spirit of O'Connell. Conditions similar to those that existed in Ireland prevailed in Newfoundland, where petty English officials imposed degrading obligations upon Catholics. Prior to the beginning of Bishop Fleming's episcopate they had been obliged to pay a tax of fourteen pence for every marriage performed and twelve shillings and six-pence for every burial, and the Bishop was obliged to collect the assessment. Dr. Fleming refused absolutely to pay any such mulct; "he laughed at the claim, and it sank to the dust."[1]

The Bishop's greatest pastoral solicitude at the beginning of his episcopal career was to augment the number of priests in the Vicariate; and in 1830 he went to Ireland in search of missionaries. He secured nine, of whom six came to Newfoundland in the early days of 1831. Like their brethren of the elder day, these men were truly apostolic; and one sees even to-day in various parts of the island standing memorials of their zeal and self-sacrifice.

Having provided a priest for every section of the Vicariate where there was a prospect of support, Bishop Fleming then turned his attention to the education of Catholic girls of the town of St. John's, who at the time were obliged to attend "mixed" schools. He again crossed the Atlantic, and secured in Galway four Presentation nuns. They came to St. John's in June 1833, and within a month opened a school in an old building that had formerly been a tavern which bore the name of "The Rising Sun." A local paper,[2] edited by a militant Protestant, thus describes the event: "On Monday, 21st inst., this infant institution was opened for the reception of poor female children. Seldom has it been our lot to witness a scene of such deep interest . . . . whether we regard the community of ladies . . . . surrendering all

[1] Howley, *op. cit.* p. 262.

[2] *The Patriot*, October, 1833.

the joys of life for the advancement of the glory of Him to whom they have consecrated their lives, or the little applicant for admission, while she tries to read her fate, or the multitudinous feelings of the estimable Prelate to whose exertions we owe this blessing." The school was soon found to be inadequate to meet the needs of the townsfolk, and a larger building was erected which " was worthy of the ladies and the glorious work in which they were embarked."

The activities of the Bishop were not circumscribed by the limits of the territory around St. John's, as the Vicariate then comprised not only the island of Newfoundland, but extended to the island of Anticosti and the entire seaboard of Labrador—an area which embraced some 50,000 square miles. During the years 1834 and 1835 Bishop Fleming visited nearly fifty missions on the north and west coasts, and administered Confirmation to four thousand persons. Most of his journeys were made in skiffs or on foot.

'Mid these exacting duties he had been occupied with the project of building a suitable cathedral, and he memorialized the British Government for a grant of land for the purpose. After persistent demands and four voyages to England he succeeded in procuring a desirable site. This secured, he visited several countries on the Continent to find a satisfactory design, and in a *Relazione* furnished to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, in 1848, the Bishop says : " I thought it important to communicate with some of the first architects of the day, in order to be furnished with the necessary designs for the cathedral. I had communication with several, but our climate is so peculiar, our frost so intense, and the quantities of snow falling every winter so heavy, I at length judged it better to proceed to the north of Europe, and at Altona, on the Elbe, obtained from the architect employed by the Danish Government in that city, M. Schmidt, all I desired." M. Schmidt's designs were

somewhat modified, however, and the actual plans of the cathedral were furnished by an Irish architect, Mr. Murphy, of Dublin.

When work on the great structure began, practically everybody in St. John's lent a helping hand. In the *Relazione* just cited the Bishop says: "When I desired to have the foundations excavated . . . . you might behold all classes of the population without distinction engaged in the laborious occupation; even women bending under the weight of years assisted to convey the gravel in their aprons; so that in less than two days the whole foundation, containing 79,000 cubic feet, was excavated." Even with such a display of enthusiasm on the part of the people, one is amazed that such an immense structure as is the cathedral could have been completed within the brief space of nine years; the foundation-stone was laid on May 21, 1841, and Bishop Fleming had the consolation of celebrating Holy Mass in the sacred edifice before his death in 1850. The material used in the construction of the cathedral, with the exception of the ambulatory walls, was brought from Ireland: the walls are faced with Galway limestone, while the quoins, mullions, and window-frames are of Dublin granite. It is consequently the most distinctive Irish church in America.

Even during the busy days spent in superintending the erection of the immense building, Bishop Fleming did not lose sight of the problem of educating the children of St. John's. To meet the demands of the citizens who felt able to pay for the education of their daughters, he introduced in 1842 the Sisters of Mercy. This was the earliest foundation of the Mercy Order in America, antedating by a year the first establishment in the United States.

Bishop Fleming does not seem to have been as popular with Protestants as was his predecessor, Dr. Scallan; yet, strange to relate, it was he who was instrumental in securing "liberty of conscience" for Dissenters in

Newfoundland. At the first session of the "Home Rule" Legislature, he presented a petition to Mr. Kent, the Catholic leader of the Government, requesting that "the Dissenters and Methodists be no longer denied the blessings of civil and religious liberty," and demanded that "the law which now compels the Dissenters to solemnize their marriages according to the ceremonies of another church [the Anglican Establishment] be repealed." The law was repealed, and to the Catholic Bishop of St. John's the Dissenters and Methodists actually owe their colonial *magna charta*.[1]

As the cathedral was nearing completion, Bishop Fleming realized that he was no longer able to bear the burdens of active administration, and he asked the Holy See for a coadjutor, recommending for the office a distinguished Franciscan, Fr. John Thomas Mullock. He was consecrated in Rome, December 27, 1847, by Cardinal Franzoni, as titular Bishop of Thyatira, with right of succession to Bishop Fleming. At the same time the Holy See translated Bishop Fleming from the titular See of Carpasia to the Bishopric of Newfoundland, thus ending the Vicariate-Apostolic which began with Bishop O'Donel.

Immediately after his arrival in Newfoundland Bishop Mullock began an extensive visitation of the south coast, and made provision for the spiritual welfare of the thousands of fisher-folk who had settled along this extensive coast-line. On his return to the episcopal city he found that Bishop Fleming had retired to Belvedere convent, which the latter had erected some years before, with a view to the establishment of a Franciscan monastery. After his retirement the Bishop declined rapidly, and his last public appearance was on the Feast of the Epiphany 1850, when he celebrated the first Holy Mass in the new cathedral. He died on May 25, and was laid to rest within the walls of the noble edifice which his successor was to consecrate five years later.

[1] Howley, *op. cit.* p. 273.

The Diocese of Newfoundland had made rapid forward strides since Bishop Mullock had come to the See, and numerous settlements had grown up on the east and the north-east coasts. To meet the needs of these developments he requested the Holy See to divide the island into two ecclesiastical jurisdictions; and as a result the Diocese of Harbour Grace was organized towards the end of 1855. Its first Bishop was Rev. John Dalton, a native of Thurles in Ireland, who was consecrated by Bishop Mullock, at the cathedral of St. John's, in May 1856. Fr. Dalton had been pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Carbonear, for many years previous to his nomination to the See of Harbour Grace.

Bishop Mullock's episcopate was crowded with activities, of which one of the most notable was the completion of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist. It was consecrated on September 9, 1855, and one of the co-consecrators was the Most Rev. John Hughes, first archbishop of New York. On the following day Archbishop Hughes laid the foundation-stone of St. Patrick's Church in the West End of St. John's. The illustrious American Prelate was deeply impressed with the manifestations of faith he had seen during his brief sojourn in Newfoundland, and he gave expression to his feelings at a public gathering of the citizens of St. John's on the eve of his departure for the United States. He said that he would return to his episcopal city, not only impressed and edified, but heartened to push forward the great work which he had recently begun—the erection of the cathedral in New York City. St. Patrick's Cathedral is more ornate than the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist; but the latter is said to be architecturally more distinctive.

After the completion of the cathedral and its embellishment, Bishop Mullock built, in rapid succession, the episcopal palace and library, St. Bonaventure's College, and convents, with large schools, for the Presentation and Mercy nuns, at a cost—in present day values—of more

than two million dollars. All these institutions are still standing, with the exception of the Bishop's residence, which was destroyed by fire a few years ago: it has been rebuilt on a larger scale to meet the requirements of the large number of priests needed for the service of the cathedral parish, which is very large.

The activities of the " The Colossus " of the Newfoundland Church were not confined to the execution of a brick-and-mortar programme; and it has been said of Bishop Mullock by a prominent non-Catholic that " he did not labour for the things that are transitory, but he spent himself in working for things that endure." He fought against apparently insuperable agencies for the advancement of Catholic education; and to him must be credited the initiation and the development of the denominational system which prevails in Newfoundland, and the first attempt to provide normal training for Catholic teachers. Gifted beyond the ordinary, he was a man of great learning, a brilliant orator, and a prolific writer. He did not limit his efforts to matters purely ecclesiastical, however, but entered whole-heartedly into every movement for the amelioration of the condition of the people of his adopted country; and, when occasion arose, he had the courage to denounce corrupt officialdom. On a memorable occasion he gave expression to his sentiments in a celebrated letter, of which the following is the concluding paragraph :—

> How does it happen that an enormous revenue, wasted in providing useless places for *State paupers*, cannot afford the sum of three thousand pounds a-year for out-port accommodation ? Year by year every improvement is put off for want of means, though even every infant in Newfoundland [pays taxes]. Will strangers believe that in a British Colony the shire town of Fortune Bay is in reality farther from us than Constantinople ? But then we have the satisfaction of seeing thousands upon thousands of pounds distributed among *locust-like officials*. We pay heavy taxes, but get comparatively no return; almost all goes in salaries and pretended compensations. I have no hesita-

tion in saying that the collection of a revenue under the present system is nothing but *legalized robbery*. I am aware that my name has been made use of to prop up the supporters of this system, but I consider it due to myself, and to those whose interests I advocate, to repudiate any connexion with a party who take care of themselves, but do nothing for the people. This is not a political or a religious question, it is one of civilization, in which Catholics and Protestants, priests and ministers, are equally interested.[1]

Newfoundland owes an enormous debt to Bishop Mullock, ecclesiastically and otherwise. When he died in 1869, Newfoundland had reached an enviable place as regards diocesan development. There were thirty-five priests, fourteen convents, and sixty-five Catholic churches and chapels. Good schools were erected in the missions; and in the city of St. John's was a splendid college, which also served as a preparatory seminary and from which a large number of students were sent to Ireland, Rome, Belgium and France to pursue their theological studies. Bishop Mullock was the last Irish Franciscan to occupy a Newfoundland See. There was another Franciscan at a later date, Right Rev. Henry Carfagnini, who became Bishop of Harbour Grace. His secretary was the Rev. Diomede Falconio, O.S.F., who later became administrator of the diocese, and after his retirement from Harbour Grace was Apostolic Delegate to Canada from 1899 to 1902 and to the United States from 1902 to 1911, when he was elevated to the cardinalate.

Bishop Mullock's successor in the See of St. John's was the Right Rev. Thomas Joseph Power, a native of New Ross, County Wexford, who, at the time of his appointment, was a canon of the cathedral in Dublin and president of the diocesan seminary at Clonliffe. He was consecrated at St. Agatha's, Rome, June 12, 1870, by Cardinal Cullen. Dr. Power was a scholarly prelate—a Master of Arts of the University of London—a very saintly man, and a distinguished pulpit orator. The late

[1] Prowse, *op. cit.* p. 487.

Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, told the writer during a visit shortly before his death that he regarded Bishop Power as " the most brilliant Irish Prelate that had ever been given by his native land to America." Withal, this gifted ecclesiastic was most humble, very gracious, and extremely generous. Only the Recording Angel knows the extent of his numerous benefactions.

During his long episcopate of twenty-three years the diocese of St. John's made great advancement: St. Patrick's noble Gothic Church at Riverhead was completed; a large orphanage at Belvedere and Mount St. Francis, a home for the Christian Brothers, were erected, and education received a new impetus. St. Bonaventure's College was affiliated to the University of London, and distinguished professors from the Royal University of Ireland and the University of Cambridge were added to its staff. At stated intervals the Bishop lectured in the college, unfailingly presided at the semestral oral examinations, and awarded medals and valuable prizes to successful students. An Industrial School for boys was established at Villanova, which the Bishop placed under the direction of Fr. Michael Morris, of whose career a Protestant writer says: " The most remarkable example of zeal and successful carrying out of Catholic institutions in the Colony is the career of Father Morris; never since the apostolic age was there a priest who gave himself so entirely, body and soul, to the service of the Church." This zealous priest succumbed to typhus fever contracted whilst caring for inmates of the school; he refused absolutely to leave, though warned by physicians of impending death.

Bishop Power was an ardent promoter of Temperance, and during his régime the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society had a membership of more than a thousand. In addition there came into existence another Benevolent Society, the Star of the Sea Association, which was most helpful in providing working men with relief in time of stress

and succour during illness. But perhaps the outstanding event in the Bishop's career was the introduction of the Irish Christian Brothers. For more than half-a-century they have been the leading educators in St. John's. They teach not only in the parochial schools of the city, but they conduct St. Bonaventure's College and the Catholic Training School for Teachers. It is worthy of note that the highly-rated All Hallows Academy in New York City is an offshoot from the Newfoundland foundation, and that many of the Christian Brothers' novices at West Park, N.Y., are natives of Newfoundland.

Shortly before Bishop Power's death, December 4, 1893, he requested the Holy See to raise the Prefecture of St. George's (established in 1870) to the dignity of a Vicariate-Apostolic. This request was graciously granted ; and in April 1892, the Right Rev. Michael Francis Howley, the Prefect-Apostolic, was appointed titular Bishop of Amastris and Vicar-Apostolic of the new See. He was the first native of Newfoundland to be raised to the episcopate.[1] Bishop Howley succeeded Bishop Power in the See of St. John's, and in 1904 became its first archbishop. He died October 15, 1914.

P. W. Browne

Catholic University of America
Washington

[1] The first native of Newfoundland to officiate in his native country as a member of its parish clergy was Rev. James Brown, Parish Priest of Harbor Main. His brother, Thomas, was Provincial of the Irish Jesuits, 1883-1888.

THE SPACE WE LIVE IN

BY HENRY V. GILL, S.J., M.A., M.SC.

THERE is a tendency amongst modern physicists to become metaphysicians, and it is a rare thing to find an individual who unites in himself the necessary qualifications to fill this double rôle. It is not therefore surprising that physicists, when they speculate on metaphysics, should sometimes be unconvincing;—just as metaphysicians often show a want of appreciation of the physical standpoint. Modern physics is a good deal taken up with notions of "space," "ether," "motion" and similar concepts; and modern physicists, when they become philosophers, often seem to have a difficulty in clearly defining what they understand by such terms.

The relativistic theories of Einstein involved the notion of space. It is remarkable that Einstein, in his original papers, does not appear to have defined what he understood by this word. Even in such modern works as Eddington's *Nature of the Physical World* we seek in vain for an exact definition. A great deal of the mystification of the ordinary reader is caused by this omission. Such expressions as "the curvature of space" are difficult to understand unless a very different meaning is attributed to the word than that common amongst educated people. An essential to the understanding of modern physical speculation is a clear appreciation of the nature of 'space'—especially in so far as the modern physical meaning of the word differs from the older philosophical usage. It will be useful to consider, in the first place, the traditional meaning.

The meaning of a word is simply the notion it conveys to the ordinary person, whether that person be wise or ignorant or at least not a specialist. The word "space" has a definite though perhaps nebulous signification in ordinary life. Philosophers have tried to define the idea

conveyed by the word somewhat as follows :—" Space is usually conceived as something extended, a kind of receptacle in which bodies are necessarily immersed and in which they can move about freely—something unbounded, uncreated and indestructible, immovable as a whole and in its parts." Space thus defined is referred to in the schools as *imaginary space*, and the notion is further elucidated by describing it as : " A fiction of the mind based on reality " (*ens rationis cum fundamento in re*).

We are not therefore to look on space as a material thing. Sometimes we speak of the space occupied by a certain body ; but this is simply a mode of indicating the volume of the body, as if it were immersed in a fluid. On the other hand, space is not imaginary in the sense that the idea is a mere abstract figment of the imagination. The idea defined above is a very useful one in so much as it helps us to understand certain relationships between different bodies and different ubications. It may be compared to the imaginary quantity i or $\sqrt{-1}$. While there is no such thing as the square-root of -1, yet the idea is founded on the known nature of the square-roots of real quantities, and can be used to obtain results that are by no means imaginary. In this way we say that the idea of space is founded on reality. It is not philosophically correct to describe space as an empty void or as a vacuum, because the presence or absence of bodies does not affect the notion of space.

It follows from this that no rational person could conceive the " curvature of space " as thus understood. Modern physicists have applied all sorts of different meanings to the word space, at least implicitly. In the height of the Relativity epoch (1920), when even unscientific and unmathematical people were interested in the subject, this confusion of meanings naturally caused great bewilderment. Even mathematicians became more abstract than Einstein himself. It was said that Einstein had done away with " the ether of space," that this

medium through which light was supposed to be transmitted as a wave motion was dead and buried. The whole cause of the trouble was that these readers approached the subject with the idea that the physicists were using the word *space* in its ordinary meaning—and indeed some of them were. It became necessary for Einstein to declare his meaning more fully, which he did in two lectures published under the title *Sidelights on Relativity*. And then it became clear that Einstein and the ordinary philosophical reader meant two different things. What Einstein understood by the word " space " was what older scientists understood by the word " ether," " the luminiferous ether," the " ether of space," and so on.

Now, although the ether is by nature elusive and not easy to define, yet it is a definite material substance, often described as having properties similar to those of an " elastic solid." There is no difficulty in conceiving strains set up in such a substance which give rise to the curvature of a beam of light—such as takes place when light passes through transparent crystals subject to applied compressions.

As late as April 1921 Eddington found it necessary to write a letter on the subject to *Nature* in which he says :—

> It is sometimes stated that the relativity theory does away with the aether ; the defence of this statement is left to those who make it ; I do not think it is the view of Einstein. It seems more reasonable to say that relativity has added to the importance of the aether by adding to its functions.

This passage is interesting as illustrating the want of method in the presentation of scientific theories. Evidently Einstein himself realised that he had not sufficiently defined his terms. In the lectures just referred to (published in 1922) he says :—

> More careful reflection teaches us, however, that the special theory of relativity does not compel us to deny the ether. . . .

To deny the ether is ultimately to assume that empty space has no physical qualities whatever. The fundamental facts of mechanics do not harmonise with this view. . . . Newton objectivises space. Since he classes his absolute space together with real things, for him rotation relative to an absolute space is something real. Newton might no less well have called his absolute space "ether."

In the following passage we get a more definite statement :—

Recapitulating, we may say that, according to the general theory of relativity, space is endowed with physical qualities ; in this sense, therefore, there exists an ether. According to the general theory of relativity space without ether is unthinkable, for in such space there would not only be no propagation of light, but also no possibility of . . . . space-time intervals in the physical sense. . . .

In other words *space* as understood by Einstein is *the ether*. It is clear that this explanation makes the meaning of such expressions as "curvature," "wrinkles," "kinks" as applied to space less bewildering.

It is also well to bear in mind that mathematicians use the word space in still a different manner : as a system of distances between points—as a frame of reference. Eddington attempts to describe this, but does not seem to be very happy in his choice of words :—

You are using a conception of space which must have originated many million years ago, and has become rather firmly embedded in human thought. But the space of physics ought not to be dominated by this creation of the dawning mind of an enterprising ape. Space is not necessarily like this conception ; it is like—whatever we find by experiment it is like. Now the features of space which we discover by experiment are extensions, *i.e.*, lengths and distances. So space is like a network of distances. Distances are linkages whose intrinsic nature is inscrutable ; we do not deny the inscrutability when we apply measure numbers to them. (p. 81).

Sometimes pure mathematicians become so concerned with the laws connecting distances and the like that they overlook the fact that distances in themselves are nothing,

though with a foundation in reality. They live in a world of imaginary space peopled with certain *points*, connected merely by "distances." Whereas the material world is made up of very real substances connected intimately and physically into an organic—or rather organised—whole. Possibly this is what Eddington means :—

> In any case the physicist does not conceive of space as void. Where it is empty of all else there is the aether. Those who for some reason dislike the word aether scatter mathematical symbols freely through the vacuum, and I presume they must conceive some kind of characteristic background for these symbols. I do not think anyone proposes to build even so relative and elusive a thing as force out of entire nothingness. (p. 137).

It would thus appear that from a physical point of view the ether of space is much more important than space itself. Whether we call this wonderful substance "ether," "aether," or "space" matters little, so long as we keep well in mind that it is a substance, with definite properties fitting it to fulfil the many rôles demanded of it.

As our knowledge of the nature of the physical universe increases, the importance of the ether of space becomes more evident. It is analogous to our atmosphere, which has so many different functions, such as supporting life, transmitting sound waves, performing work, influencing temperature and pressures and so on. The functions of the ether are very much more varied and mysterious—and apparently contradictory. An enumeration of these functions usually attributed to the ether is instructive.

The most obvious demand on the ether, which entitled it to the name "luminiferous," was the transmission of light waves. Then when light was found to be due to electromagnetic vibrations, the ether was asked to undertake the transmission of all such disturbances. In fact visible light became but a small fraction of the ether's

burden. Of the 62 octaves of known electro-magnetic wave frequencies visible light only fills one octave! The transmission of light waves is a very much more complicated business than the transmission of sound waves. In the case of light, in addition to the phenomena of interference and reflection and refraction common to all kinds of waves, we have the curious "two-sidedness" of light which gives rise to the peculiarity of "polarisation." In order to explain this effect, it has been found necessary to suppose that, in the case of the ether, the wave motion (or what corresponds to motion) takes place in a plane perpendicular to the direction of the light. This explanation involves the nature of the ether, which must, to meet this demand, partake both of the nature of a solid and of a gas or liquid. The difficulties of the last generation of physicists centred round these properties.

It seems very likely that gravitational force is also propagated in some way through the ether. Similar, in some ways, to gravitational attraction are magnetic and electrical attractions and repulsions. These would also seem to be effected through the instrumentality of the ether. Relativity theories demand that the ether (space) in the neighbourhood of large masses be so influenced that the light no longer travels in what is usually called the same straight line. There is, it is said, a curvature produced in "space" near large masses. The discovery of the electron still further provided occupation for the ether. Electrons could be made to leave certain substances by the action of light, and in turn electrons travelling at great speed could give rise to ether waves, such as Röntgen's X-rays. These and other facts pointed to a close connection between ether and electrons. It has even been suggested that there are "singularities" or modifications of the ether of the dimensions of an electron which are instrumental in the propagation of light.

Again such serious scientists as Sir J. J. Thomson hold

that all mass and energy is located in the ether, and that the manifestations of mass and energy familiar to us are all derived from the ether of space. In this way did Thomson, who first described the fact which was later on demonstrated by direct experiment, discover that the mass of an electrified particle moving with great velocity through the ether increased up to a certain value, which was less than infinity. Closely connected with this fact was the intimate association of matter (as we know it) and ether which resulted in the " Fitzgerald " contraction of matter moving through the ether with great speed. This change in dimensions is at the basis of the whole theory of relativity, and is the reason why it is impossible for us to detect the velocity of matter through the ether.

The modern theory of matter puts still further demands on the overworked ether. Sir James Jeans says :—

> Until quite recently electrons and protons, the fundamental units of which all matter is composed, were regarded as electrified particles. Now they too have gone the way of Newton's light-particles, and become resolved into waves. For Newton the universe consisted primarily of particles—light-particles and material particles. For his successor of to-day it consists primarily of waves—light-waves, electron-waves, and proton-waves. We know next to nothing of the true nature of any of these waves, but they all satisfy one supreme test of reality. They all possess a definite " wave-length," a distance from wave-crest to wave-crest, which it is possible to measure with accuracy. For the rest, all the properties of the waves are embodied in mathematical formulae which tell us with exquisite precision how the waves will behave under given circumstances, but can never tell us what they are.

Finally certain astronomical philosophers, such as Eddington and Jeans, would have us believe that matter when heated up to the terrific temperatures of the interior of great stars is being transformed into radiant energy by the falling together of electrons and protons. Thus it would be scientifically true to say that the sun is radiating away so many tons of energy per second—the exact amount has been calculated. This points to a new

relationship between matter and ether. In fact the most important thing in the material universe is the ether. From the above outline it would seem clear that the ether is too firmly established to be easily dethroned.

Yet there does seem to be a tendency on the part of some mathematicians to do away with the ether, but their language is so obscure that it is not easy to grasp their meaning—if, indeed, they really do mean what they attempt to put into words. Perhaps this mental attitude is best illustrated by considering a modern book in which the distinguished author undertakes to present a plain statement of the modern outlook.[1]

In a chapter on " Relativity and Ether " the mathematical as opposed to the physical nature of the " ether " is described. We may adopt the author's method of stating—in his own words—his " conclusion in advance ":—

> It [the conclusion] is, in brief, that the ethers and their undulations, the waves which form the universe, are in all probability fictitious. This is not to say that they have no existence at all : they exist in our minds, or we should not be discussing them ; and something must exist outside our minds to put this or any other concept into our minds. To this something we temporarily assign the name " reality," and it is this reality which is the object of science to study. But we shall find that this reality is something very different from what the scientist of fifty years ago meant by ether, undulations and waves ; so much so, that judged by his standards and speaking his language for a moment, the ethers and their waves are not realities at all. And yet they are the most real things of which we have any knowledge or experience, and are as real as anything can possibly be for us. (p. 79).

This is not a very encouraging thesis to defend, and it may be admitted that the defence does not seem to exhaust all the possibilities of logic. The meaning of the above passage is not made clearer by another paragraph which we find later on :—

> We have seen how the ether which was at one time supposed

[1] The Mysterious Universe, by Sir James Jeans (Cambridge, 1930).

to fill the universe has been reduced to an abstraction, a framework of empty space, amounting to nothing more than the spacial dimensions of a soap-bubble, whose soap-film consists of vacancy. The waves which were at one time supposed to traverse this ether have also been reduced to little more than an abstraction: they are corrugations on a cross-section of the bubble of time. (p. 120).

This may be very picturesque writing; but who knows what it all means? Yet it must not be supposed that our author is an idealist in the strict sense of the word, for he says still further on:—

This may suggest that we are proposing to discard realism entirely, and enthrone a thoroughgoing idealism in its place. Yet this, I think, would be too crude a statement of the situation. . . . Objective realities exist, because certain things affect your consciousness and mine in the same way, but we are assuming something we have no right to assume if we label them as either "real" or "ideal." The true label is, I think, "mathematical," if we can agree that this is to connote the whole of pure thought, and not merely the studies of the professional mathematician. . . .

The label we have selected does not of course relegate matter into the category of hallucination or dreams. The material universe remains as substantial as ever it was, and this statement must, I think, remain true through all changes of scientific or philosophic thought. (p. 137).

We are, however, prepared for an unexpected conclusion when Sir James says:—

In brief, a mathematical formula can never tell us what a thing is, but only how it behaves; it can only specify an object through its properties (p. 142).

Having set up a system of cosmology which seems to him to fit in best with the facts of science as revealed to us by recent research-work, the author proceeds to undermine it by a conclusion to which he might well have applied his own method of statement "in advance":—

So at least we are tempted to conjecture to-day, and yet who knows how many more times the stream of knowledge may

turn on itself? And with this reflection before us, we may conclude by adding, what might well have been interlined into every paragraph, that everything which has been said, and every conclusion that has been tentatively put forward, is quite frankly speculative and uncertain. We have tried to discuss whether present-day science has anything to say on certain difficult questions, which are perhaps set for ever beyond the reach of human understanding. We cannot claim to have discerned more than a very faint glimmer of light at the best; perhaps it was wholly illusory, for certainly we had to strain our eyes very hard to see anything at all. So that our main contention can hardly be that the science of to-day has a pronouncement to make, perhaps it ought rather to be that science should leave off making pronouncements: the river of knowledge has too often turned back on itself. (p. 149).

We have taken the liberty of quoting at some length from this work, as the author is one of the two or three who—in English-speaking countries—are most in the public eye. It will, I think, be admitted that the message is, on the whole, a vague one.

The description of the ether which is most likely to suit all parties is "a space-time continuum," in which space and time are so intimately combined that they make an inseparable whole. This definition really leaves the question of the nature of the ether of space an open one. Einstein endeavoured to unite in a mathematical formula concepts which are apparently quite distinct. To the three dimensions which determine volume he added a fourth involving time—not simply time, but time multiplied by $\sqrt{-1}$. By this means he translated into mathematical terms the fact of experience, that the operations of extended objects takes place in time. The mystification which the ordinary person feels when he hears of "four dimensional space" is due to an attempt to imagine what such a thing is like. He tries to pass from the idea of a line, involving one dimension, to a surface, involving two dimensions, to a volume, involving three dimensions, and then to a something involving four. He overlooks the fact that the fourth dimension, even if

it were not imaginary, is concerned with a concept which has no similarity to the other three. As a matter of fact we are all perfectly familiar with bodies of four or more dimensions. Every solid body we see has at least four. An apple is not completely defined—merely considering it as a visible object— by the three dimensions which determine its volume; it also has a fourth dimension—of colour. While the original three dimensions may remain constant, its redness may be increasing. We may add a fifth dimension, if we include its temperature. Thus we need not be too much alarmed by the statement that the "space-time continuum" can be described in four dimensions. It is not, of course, suggested that the illustration afforded by the contemplation of a red apple is anything more than an illustration.

Older generations of physicists were sometimes accused of attempting to describe an ether made up of cog-wheels and connecting rods, but these gross ways of treating the subject were not intended to be taken literally, but merely as models illustrating certain properties of the ether which could hardly be otherwise described. After all, the medium which vibrates and in which there are wave groups must have some qualities which enable it to perform its functions. There must be something which vibrates—no matter how one defines a vibration.

The success of Einstein's remarkable hypothesis has been judged by the verification of certain test cases. Although this success is generally admitted, there is not complete unanimity on all points. In any case such a proof is only convincing when it has been shown that no other theory would explain them. This is far from being the case. The wave theory of light explained many phenomena which could not otherwise be accounted for and it enabled physicists to predict results—such as Lloyd's "conical refraction" of light. Yet the wave theory which achieved all this is now suspected by those who apply the same method of proof to the newer theories.

Instead of condemning the wave-theory of light as false, it would seem more true to say that it did not contain the whole truth. We may be sure that it is only a question of time until the relativity theory as at present developed will be placed in the same category of partial truths.

Another matter which interests both physicists and metaphysicians is the *motion* of matter through space. Motion as we know it is always relative. The question arises as to the possibility of "absolute motion." Evidently motion of a body through a material like ether would not be absolute, even if there were no other body in existence. It would be possible to determine the nature of the motion relatively to the boundaries of the ether atmosphere. According to philosophers a single body in (empty) space cannot be said to have any ubication, it is "nowhere" and therefore cannot change its position, and therefore cannot be said to move. It is, of course, evident that it is impossible to detect anything but relative motion, and in this sense there is nothing but relative motion. It is in practice quite impossible to know what kind of relative motion a body has. A body at rest relatively to me—*v.g.*, a book I am reading in a railway train—may at the same time be moving over the ground at sixty miles an hour. The earth is going in a direction which cannot be determined. But does the fact that motion cannot be detected prove that it does not exist? That, after all, is the whole question.

Those who discuss *motion* do so in terms of mere "whereabouts," as the passing of a body from a point A to a point B (we are, of course, only considering "local motion"). A, B, C, etc., in these discussions represent bodies which are stripped of every note but that of "locality." But the matter may be looked at from another point of view. We asked just now if the fact of not being able to detect absolute motion is a proof that it does not exist. We may—some of us—answer this

question by asking another: Does the fact that we cannot see a thing prove that it has no colour? Possibly this question may give rise to a further discussion, which will not occupy us. Anyway the question suggests the fact that *motion* is not merely a change of position. It is a definite quality of a body just as much as colour, weight, or temperature. It must not be forgotten that Newton took this view. What we call *momentum* now-a-days, *i.e.*, mass multiplied by velocity (*mv*), Newton called motion—the quantity of motion in a body. It may be objected that the symbol "*v*" implies a relation. Yet relativists do not hesitate to use the symbol "*c*," the velocity of light in what looks like an absolute sense. Thus, a body in motion has a definite something connected with it which differentiates it from one without this quality.

But when the mass is taken into account, it seems clear that a *body* (*i.e.* not a mere mathematical point) put into motion has acquired a power which is not possessed by every body, and which would seem to exist in this body even were every other body in the material universe to cease to exist. This quality would be impossible to detect unless a second body without this same "*v*" were supposed to come into existence. Does the existence or non-existence of this second body modify the condition of the first?

If we knew more about "space" and "time," we should be in a position to solve many problems which at present seem to be left as a heritage to encourage a curiosity which we shall never satisfy until we look on these matters from a region not bounded by our limited knowledge of either space or time.

H. V. Gill

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XVII

THE BODY A SHEEP-FOLD

Goffraid mac Briain Mhic an Baird cct.

1. A Dé Adar t'faire fum
uan dod dréad ir ead m'anam
tura a ní an druinne do cuir
an clí uime mar adbaid.

2. Caora finn dá bar feilb féin
do cuir tú i gcró idir cuainméir
a gcumdaċ ar-aon ic oċt
faor ó cumgaċ na gcuanort.

3. Tóir a Dé an cró ar an gconairt
gá dtá an ċaora i gcontabairt
nó ir cinnte an ċaora ar a gcor
impe gaċ taobha a dteagar.

4. Tú dealbadóir déanta an ċraoi
léir duit gaċ [dú] ar a léamċaoi
dóig toġla do déanamh dé
a comda [ir] éanar oirbre

5. Ort dob earbaid an ċaora
fuar lé ar do [lot aṫtaoba]
tú an ġéag fá croibainġ do ċin
féag dá doibainġ a dúilim.

6. Foirgneamh ar fearann [dalaid]
aice a aṫair ċarṫannaiġ
tréan gaċ bioba [an baile i luiġ]
'r ní niomda [caire] a cornaim.

7. Timċeall a tiġe leabtа
airgeaḋ ḟuair ḟóḋ inġealta
Gleann na nóéar ḋomàn na gclear
ḟromàḋ ḋá ḟéar ní hàineár.

8. Ní hár ḋí ḋá bṗaġtaoi a ḟaill
ḟorṡaoir mìlleaċ maġ taḋaill
ḋon anam naċ uan [ḋoḋ] ċréáḋ
ḟuar an ċalann mar ċoimḋéaḋ.

9. Dúil ainġliḋe an t-anam glan
dúil ċṗiaḋaiḋe an corp ḟuaṫmar
mór an ní aingeal i n-airc
'r ní ḋaingean [ón] ċlí a ċoraint.

10. Ar t'ḟorġlaḋ a Dé ar do ḋṗuḋ
an teaġḋair i tá an ṡbiorad
ort a hearṗaḋ ort a ḋíon
rob cearnaṁ ort a himṗíoṁ.

11. Mainnear i bṗeiḋm a ḟaire.
aḋḃa an anma ċaorċaiḋe
bíoḋ i leiṫ gealláiḋ do ġrár
bṗeiṫ a heallaiġ a huaṫbár

12. Aġ ro an ṡgát cṗiaḋ ar gcìaonaḋ
aġ ro an balla ar mbacṫaonaḋ
cinnte ḋó cṗuaiḋ n-a ċomàir
aġ ró uair an anaġail.

13. Aġ ro an ḋiaoi ar nḋul ó ṫéaġar
aġ ro an t-urċró ar n-eirṗéaḋaḋ
aġ ro an t-uḋnaċt gá ḟoġail
aġ ro an umlaċt n-urċraḋaiġ

14. Aġ ro an ḟáinne i bṗeiḋm na nḋroi
aġ ro [ḋá] ṡlaiḋe an ḟaoġal
aġ goiḋ na ngaḃal ḋá ngṗeim
bṗoiḋ ar naċ ḟaġar ḟaiċill

15. Ag ro i bfroigiḃ na fige
an cruinne ar gcur ainrile
ir [é a gcogar] a ḋé ar ndol
ir ní cogaḋ é ó n-antar.

16. Ag ro an t-éag d'oiḋce 'r do ló
[uirre] ag reilg 'r ní hé ar iargnó
'n-a aigiḃ ní héidir cur
daimiḋ ar éigin d'iomcur

17. D'álgar an anma ċriċiḋ
mó ar gcinnte gleic Lúiriġ
uċt le comlaiḋ cor ir toig
bor ó fogluiḋ gan urroim.

18. Iomḋa air arlaċ mealita
breiṫ riaġta rún diċeannta
cealg teagair gan dtruaill gcréaḋa
leabaiḋ an uain fíréanda

19. Tigtear dá tuba i n-aḋaig
ón cli féin 'r na forapaiḃ
már fíor ir ní hé naċ eaḋ
ré dá díol mar do diugeaḋ

20. A rún fill ir fáṫ beaḋgta
a héagnaige a himdeargta
an teagarra ag toċt do léim
olc do feadarra a n-ioċt-féin.

21. Lúṫmar gcéime a clann taile
na hoċt gcoirre collaiḋe
cuainméara gariḃa dá goin
damna truaigméala an togail.

22. Giḋ é an bairdeaḋ dar ḃean cean
lá deaṙmaiḋ na ndeiċ n-aiṫneaḋ
a [rréin] faoi dá fiaċgoin rin
gaċ laoi d'fiaclaiḃ ir d'ingniḃ.

23. Gid é a brágbann dá bfidir
dá holcaib gan faoistin
a ngáire ir amgar re n-uct
ní hadbar gáire a ngluaracht

24. Súr cata ar a gcúl a-muig
ag fear mealltа mná Adaim
orra ag teannad togla an chaoi
fogla nach eangad éanlaoi.

25. Seacht ngadair do gadraib puill
leir gach laoi im lug an anaim
na feacht bpeacaid ir riad rin
deacair mar iad ní héidir.

26. Créad é act leacthom ag lige
ar chró an éanuain d'innile
baoglach fonna ar mbárda bog
fan froabla colla an ceathad

27. An caora a cinn na foillre
dá dtiorad ó dtagraimre
an clí do ba coime cor
ní dí ar throime mar tátar.

28. An fbiorad uaibre fuair mé
caor maot do mianach nime
ón toil diadа a-máin do muid
fáim a riana gom noctain.

29. Tuar nach comarg a coimde
le céile ir ar gcolainne
do déanam duine dí fain
fuile 'n-a cli [dod] ceardaib.

30. Meire an duine a Dé atar
orm ná caill mo cruthacad
tug dot aoid gur ocar dam
mon chotad daoib dom damnad.

31. An leanbh a flaith na cruinne
lér fann tú fíol fíorfuirbe
gairtgleanadh a tuair fad tháil
glantarach uaid go brágair.

32. An ithir go n-a harbar
uaimhe ar-aon fad ollamhnadh
ór lib do fíolchuireadh foin
chíochnuigeadh fib an fíolfoin.

33. Ar aba an aba futhain
mór caomhna an chuirp fhéamhdhuthain
ór dá thaobadh a fí fib
baogal 'r an clí ag gach chuibdin.

34. Mór [aicill] an anma féin
eagail ór é dob oilbéim
a bann claonta leir an gcuir
fann dá aonta ag a fogladh.

35. Éacht tárfam gach laoi [ir] a luirg
caitheamh ceann na gcon bhfiochluirg
nó an mag tadhaillfe i dtá ar fead
lá na habairfe a imneadh

A Dhé

Translation

1. O God the Father, attend to me; my soul is a lamb of Thy flock. Thou, O Lord of the world, didst place the body round her to be her home.

2. I am a sheep belonging to Thee which Thou didst put in a fold surrounded by wolves; to save her and the fold depends on Thee; save them from the danger of the pack.

3. Defend, O God, the fold from the pack that threatens the sheep; else surely she is in their power; round her on all sides is their gathering.

4. Thou art the builder of the fold and knowest the points at which it could be attempted; it is likely to be assailed; to save it is in Thy hand alone.

. The sheep was once lost on Thee, and yet she feels little desire to renew her trust in thee owing to Thy wounding; Thou art the branch that bore her as a cluster; regard now her strait, O God.

6. She has her house on tributary (?) land, O dear Father ; strong is every foe where she rests, and small the band to guard her.

7. Round her sleeping-lair, she has timidly found a grazing ground ; but 'tis little pleasure to brouse on the grass of this vale of tears, this treacherous earth.

8. If she be exposed to attack, little will profit her this bad pasturage, this fleeting world ; for any soul not a lamb of Thy flock the body is a poor protection.

9 An angelic element is the pure soul, an earthy element the hateful body ; what a pity an angel should be thus confined and his body too is poor defence for him.

10. Of the soul's home Thou hast in Thy hand, O God, the opening and closing, the strewing with rushes and the roofing ; if it be in jeopardy, on Thee is the reproach.

11. A pen to guard her is the lair where lies the soul like a sheep ; may the promise of Thy favour save its sheep from terror.

12. See the earth-bulwark toppling over, the wall with its steeples sprung (?) ; hard stress is fated for the soul, now is the hour for help.

13. See the roof disjointed, the outer enclosure flooded, the palisade wrecked, and a disastrous surrender (imminent).

14. See the ring-fence being pulled down with hooks, the world attacking it, pulling the pillars from their hold—a defeat hard to ward off.

15. Behold the world, after making a preliminary attack(?), standing around the sides of the wattle-fence ; our death is what they plot (?) ; 'tis a war there is no escape from.

16. See death—and that is not the worst !—attacking the soul night and day, and not to be kept off ; 'tis a hardship that must be endured.

17. In his greed for the trembling soul, hotter and fiercer grows Lucifer's attack ; that foe's breast presses against the door, his foot within it, and his hand on the jamb.

18. Many the stratagem against the soul, the threat to torture her, the craving to behead her ; many the well-planned trick against the body of clay, the lair of the faithful lamb.

19. By night she is attacked by the body and its sentinels (the senses), and yet 'tis said—and 'tis true—that, as she is bound to do, she pays it wages.

20. The body's treacherous mind, her abuse and reviling strike terror into me ; of that charging troop little I know is the mercy.

21. Swift to attack her too are her own dear offspring, the Eight Carnal Sins, biting her as fierce packs of hounds ; pitiful is that attack.

22. And he (Devil), from whom Baptism had taken his power, comes, when the Ten Commandments are forgotten, charging with loose rein, and wounding her, as he is entitled to do, with teeth and nails.

23. The sins of which she is conscious and which she has left unconfessed—no joyous thing is the approach of their battle-cries causing misery to those awaiting them.

24. Back behind these is the battle-eagerness of him who betrayed Adam's wife, urging on them the capture of the fold, an attack renewed every day.

25. Seven of the Hounds of the Pit are with him round the soul's lair; they are the Seven Deadly Sins; no foes can be as hard to conquer as they.

26. Is not superior force pressing on the one lamb of the flock? In peril here is our weak garrison, the little lamb in the stable of the body.

27. O Source of Light, if so the sheep come safe from what I have been describing, the present plight of the wicked body is no real affliction.

28. The spirit I have got from Thee is a fragment of Heaven's substance, broken off by God's will; comforting are the signs of its coming to me.

29. A sign, O Lord, that it and the body are distinct from each other is the blood placed by Thy operation within it (the body) to make a man out of it.

30. I am that man, O Father; let not Thy creative work be in vain for me; remember that to be damned after being created by Thee is ruin for me (as well as loss to Thee).

31. This hill-side O Lord of the world, whereon Thou didst sow the seed of immortality—may the weeding of its soil be according to Thy will, so that a clean crop be got from it.

32. The soil and its crop I submit to Thy direction; as Thou didst sow the seed, mayst Thou bring it to ripeness.

33. In the interest of the Eternal Father it is important to save this perishable body, for it is entrusted to Thee, O Lord; I tremble when my body is given over to every marauder-band.

34. 'Tis important to guard (?) the soul; I fear—for what may ruin her is her conduct inclining to sin—her foe's joining in peace with her.

35. Violence and his (Devil's) attacks I experience every day, or one of the sleuth-hounds is set at me, or in the day of plenty (?) anxiety about losing this passing world which I so love.

Notes

A MSS. by Art Ó Caoimh in Stonyhurst College, of which Fr. J. MacErlean kindly supplied a copy. All passages departed from are noted.

c ní na cr. *2b* cnaimhéin *3a* Tar *4a* An croidhe *b* gac dé ar *d* a am; i neanar *5b* lo cathaobha *d* do *om.* *6a* dalaigh *b* a *om.* *c* a bala a luch *d* cara a cornamh *8c* u. do cr. *9b* chiaidhe *d* an *11d* heanlaigh *12b* mbadhrcaodh *13b* *cf.* noun eirréad IGT ll. 1013-4 *14b* im *d* faidhcill *15b* ainrile "hansell"? *cf* *I. Monthly* 1921 p. 159 v 12. *c* í ón gcagar *d* cagadh *16b* ora c aghaidh *d* d. ar é. *18a* air a arlach *19a* tuga i n-aghaidh *20a* a fáth *b* himdeanta *21c* cuan, cuaine, cuaimhéar, cuanort, conairt "pack of dogs." *22a* Or "he whom Baptism has freed from (Original) Sin"? *c* fuaim; fiadhgoi; trans. uncertain. *23c* angáir ir a.; le fr. *24d* eangadh fr. noun eang; exact meaning here doubtful. *26a* lirde c mbog. *27b* dtiomadh. *29d* do; pl. of fuil often used. *30b* o. ir na. *31c* toib. *32a* c. do na. *33a* *Lege* an abadh? *d* fam cli. *34a* aicill=faidhill? or *lege* aicill *cf* *Poems of* Tadhg Dall20 5 note. *35a* ar; tárfam 1 pl. of tárfaidh? lorg often of raiding etc. *d* abairfe IGT § 3 l. 188; meaning uncertain.

THE ORIGIN OF IRISH NATURE POETRY

BY GERARD MURPHY

TO explain the existence in early times of an Irish and a Welsh school of nature literature, critics have assumed that the Celt possesses to a unique degree the gift of sensibility to the beauty of irrational and inanimate creation. This explanation is unsatisfactory in view of the fact that nations, whose language neither is nor ever was a Celtic one, have developed schools of nature literature, schools which have differed less by reason of race than in accordance with the difference of motive inspiring them. Fortunately it is no longer necessary to postulate any inborn racial tendency to account for the rise of nature poetry in Wales. Prof. Glyn Davies, in a paper published in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* (1912-1913), has given excellent reason for believing that the Welsh consciously borrowed the nature theme from the Irish. The history of the nature tradition in Ireland has not so far been investigated. That the racial explanation is here also unnecessary will, it is believed, be shown by the following discussion of the extant documents.

Sensibility to natural beauty would seem to have been a note of the Old Irish personal lyric. It also appears in certain lyrics, best described as dramatic lyrics, which were written from the 9th century down to the 12th, but put into the mouths of earlier well-known monks and hermits. In the legends which grew up, from the 8th century on, around Suibhne Geilt and St. MoLing, delight in nature is a leading theme : these legends culminated in the 12th century in the saga known as *Buile Suibhne*. Delight in nature is fairly frequent all through the Finn-saga ; but, from the 12th century on, it is generally mingled with some other theme, such as the joys of the chase or praise of a fruitful countryside. The nature

theme appears lastly in some 14th (?) century lyrics, two of which are attributed to Déirdre : these late lyrics lack the freshness and spontaneity of the earlier nature poetry.[1] At all periods the theme is rare in the eulogistic and historical verse of professional poets.[2]

Except for the late poems attributed to Déirdre, sensibility to natural beauty is nowhere manifested in the *Táin* nor in its *rém-scéla*, nor in the Conaire-Etaín cycle of tales, nor in the literature concerning the *Tuatha Dé*. Here and there something suggestive of it may be found, such as the mention in the *Táin* of the pet *togmall* owned by Medb and killed with a sling-stone by Cú Chulainn, or that early poem ascribed to Amergin in which he is made to identify himself with all strong and swift things of the world. But the keeping of pets has always been more widespread than poetic love of nature, and a comparison of Amergin's poem with that describing the shape-shifter Mongán should convince the doubter that Alfred Nutt was right in classing Amergin's with poems of wizardry rather than with those of pantheistic nature ecstasy.[3]

[1]The reader should here consult the list of nature poems appended to this article.

[2]Of more than one hundred and fifty poems on the origin of place names preserved in the Middle Irish *Dindshenchus* only three have distinct traces of sensibility to natural beauty : two by the late 10th century Cinaed Ua Hartacáin (Gwynn's ed. II, p. 10 ; III, p. 104), and a third, said to be by Finn (Gwynn, III, p. 96). Reference to two nature poems by professional poets of a later period will be found on p. 100 *infra*.

[3]The first four lines of Amergin's poem (see corrupt version *Irische Texte*, III, p. 62) are :

Am gaeth i mmuir : *Am tonn trethain*
Am fuaimm mara : *Am dam secht ndrenn (?)*

" I am a wind on the sea : I am an ocean wave : I am a sound of the sea : I am a stag of seven . . . . "

The verses concerning Mongán (*Imram Brain*, ed. Meyer, §§ 53-54) are :

Biäid i fethol cech míl *itir glasmuir ocus tir.*
Bid drauc re mbuidnib i froiss ; *bid cú allaid cech indroiss.*
Bid dam co mbendaib arggait *i mruig i n-agtar carpait.*
Bid écne brecc il-lind lán ; *bid rón, bid ela findbán.*

" He shall be in the shape of every animal both on gray sea and land. He shall be a dragon before companies at the onset ; he shall be the wolf of every great forest. He shall be a stag with silver horns in a land where chariots are driven. He shall be a speckled salmon in a full pool ; he shall be a seal and a fair white swan." The *Imram Brain* was probably written in the 8th century.

For Nutt's reasoning against a pantheistic interpretation of Amergin's poem see *Voyage of Bran*, II, p. 121.

Nor is the delight in descriptions of magic islands, woods and palaces, manifested in the voyage and fairy literature, identical with appreciation of natural beauty. Poems of this and the Amergin tradition derive their inspiration from a world where magic rules, not from that homely world of mountain and wood, of field and river, which stirs the true nature-lover to song. They may, it is true, have prepared men's minds for the making and appreciating of nature poetry[1]; but they are not themselves to be classed with nature poems.

The distribution of the nature theme in Irish poetry having been thus briefly surveyed, further consideration of those branches of the literature in which it has been found to occur may discover some clue as to its origin. It will be convenient to examine first the evidence of the saga-literature. Two things are especially noticeable about the sagas into which the theme has really won entry. Firstly they are all of late growth: Meyer, in his *Fianaigecht*, has collected the evidence which shows that the Finn legend as we have it to-day was gradually constructed during the 9th and following centuries from folk matter and traditions concerning various *fiana* or war-bands (of which Finn's was one) filled out by extensive borrowings from the Cú Chulainn saga: Suibhne, the chief character in the saga which takes its name from him, is an historical figure who was wounded in the battle of Magh Rath more than two hundred years after the coming of Patrick.[2] Secondly the majority of the tales of which these sagas are composed are intimately bound up with a christianized world: saints such as Patrick and MoLing play important parts in them: in one of them paganism

[1]The inspiration of the following stanza (*Imram Brain* § 38), for example, is very close to nature inspiration. Manannán tells Bran that what he thinks to be sea is in truth a lovely plain:

Lingit ich bricc ass de brú, a muir find forsnaicci-siu:
It lóig, it úain co ndath, co cairddi, cen immarbad.

"Speckled salmon leap out of it, from (its) womb, (the womb of) that white sea upon which thou lookest: They are calves, they are lambs of fair hue, at peace, without mutual slaughter."

[2]See O'Keefe's introduction to his ed. of *Buile Suibhne* (Ir. Texts Soc. 1913).

itself is rendered half Christian by attributing to the *Fiana* the gentler natural virtues—generosity, truth and love of learning—rather than that excessive pride and ferocity which characterize the Ulster heroes : in the other the chief actor is himself a Christian. On the other hand those sagas in which the nature theme does not occur belong, on the whole, to an essentially pagan tradition. Some of them treat in a guarded fashion of the doings of the ancient gods and of that happy hidden land to which at times a mortal had won entry. Others tell of warrior life in pre-Christian Ireland, abating its fierceness in no way, and guaranteeing, as it were, the genuineness of their tradition by giving a more faithful representation of the political order of that age than do the so-called historians. Christian saints play little or no part in the narrative framework of those early sagas.[1]

Of the saga literature then it may be stated that the older, purely pagan cycles afford no evidence of any peculiar sensibility to natural beauty on the part of their authors ; while those sagas of which the tradition was formed in Christian times, and into the framework of whose narrative saints were readily introduced, show clearly that their authors were familiar with the nature theme.

The evidence of the sagas having been considered, that of poetry outside the sagas remains to be discussed. It is clear that by the end of the Middle Irish period the theme was losing its freshness. Evidence concerning its origin is therefore to be sought in poems of that earlier period in which it was still vigorous. Too little is known of the Old Irish personal lyric to draw any sure conclusions from what remains of it. A possible origin, however, is suggested distinctly by the dramatic lyrics. A cursory examination of these shows that poets of the 9th and following centuries, when they wished to sing of the joys and beauties of the outdoor world, preferably

[1]Except in the 10th (?) cent. *Siaburcharpat Con Culainn.*

put their songs into the mouth of some early monk or hermit such as Colum Cille, MoLing, Manchán, Ceallach, or Marván.

Here then is a suggestion that the making of nature poetry is bound up in a special way with various monks and hermits of the 6th and 7th centuries. Is there any means of testing this suggestion so as to discover what historic truth, if any, underlies it ?

Two early saints' lives, and a number of late ones, may be cited to prove that the very men to whom an artistic fiction later ascribed the making of so many of the surviving nature poems were indeed observers and lovers of the irrational and inanimate things of this world. Adamnan wrote his life of Colum Cille not more than a century after the death of that saint and at least a century before the earliest nature-poem extant in Irish literature. Several incidents related by Adamnan suggest that Colum was tender towards birds and animals and in return won their affection : now he blesses the monk who at his bidding had carried an exhausted crane to the guest-house and given it food, *Benedicat te Deus, mi fili, quia peregrinae bene ministrasti hospitae* (Bk. I, chap. 48) ; at another time he prays that a slaughterer's knife, to which he had heedlessly given his blessing, should never injure man or beast (II, chap. 29) ; finally, just before his death, as he walked through the monastery grounds for the last time, an old white horse which was past its work is said to have come to him that it might lay its head in his bosom and weep (III, chap. 23).[1]

Separated by an even shorter interval of time from the saint of whom he writes was Ionas, author of a life of St. Columbanus of Bangor, Luxeuil and Bobbio. Columbanus died in 615. Ionas wrote his life of him about the year 642. Ionas gives many instances of the saint's power over animals : wolves do not harm him as he

[1]For late legends concerning Colum's fondness for birds *cf.* the index to O'Kelleher's ed. (1918) of Manus O'Donnell's *Betha Colaim Chille* under the word " birds."

wanders through the forest with a book meditating the sacred Scriptures (*Vita*, lib. I, § 8); a bear surrenders him its cave at his bidding (I, § 8); another bear, about to devour a stag, the hide of which Columbanus required for the making of shoes, at the saint's word becomes tame and making signs of affection leaves the corpse (I, § 17); on another occasion it is a raven which obeys him (I, § 15). Commenting on these instances of the saint's power over irrational creatures Ionas says :—

> What power was there in the man of God which thus compelled obedience in beasts and birds ? For we have heard Chagnoald, bishop of Laon, who was the saint's attendant and disciple at a later period, relate what follows. According to him, and he declared that he often witnessed it, it was a frequent custom of the saint's, during his periods of fasting and prayer in solitary places, to call beasts and birds to him as he walked abroad. These would come straightway at his bidding, and the saint would stroke them coaxingly with his hand. And these wild things and birds, rejoicing and gambolling in great delight, would frisk about just as puppies do when they fawn upon their masters. The same Chagnoald used to declare that he often saw the saint summon from high tree-tops the little animal known as the squirrel, and taking it in his hand place it on his neck, whereupon the squirrel used to run in and out of the bosom of his garment.[1]

Later hagiographers, whose writings are, however, to be regarded rather as pious romances than as histories, also associate certain saints in a special way with animals. Such saints are Ciarán of *Saighir*, who had a boar, a fox and a badger for his first monks[2]; Cainneach, to whom in the wilderness a stag offered his antlers as book-rest[3]; MoLing who nurtures animals both wild and tame in honour of their creator (*fera animalia et domestica consuebat in honore conditoris suorum alere*), who feeds stray hounds, who makes the hawk vomit the wren it has eaten and the wren in its turn vomit the fly, and who keeps a pet

[1] (IONAE *Vita Columbani*, I, § 17, ed. Krusch in *Script. Rerum German.* pp. 185-6).

[2] PLUMMER *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.* : Ciarán, §§ v-vi. [3] *op. cit.* Cainnech § xxxvi.

fox[1]; MoLua of Drumsnat, of whom a 12th (?) century commentator on the *Félire Oengusso* says that men did not lament his death any more deeply than did the birds and animals, for that he had never killed an animal little or great (*is aire no-caínit na hanmanna é, ar ní ro-marb anmanna riam do biuc nó do mór*).[2] A certain Colum Mac Criomhthainn, pupil of St. Fintán of Clonard, is noted for the fact that birds perched on him as he stood with hands outstretched in the form of a cross, while of St. Kevin it is related that birds built their nests in his hands as he performed a seven years' penance in the open air.[3]

A mass of evidence thus seems to point to the monks and hermits of the first Christian ages as the founders of the Irish nature tradition.[4] The conclusion is not surprising. Monotheistic religion, offering, as it does, a rational explanation of what is inanimate and irrational, and investing natural objects with a value akin to that which attaches to the work of an artist, has inspired more than one school of nature poets. Thus the Jews, who loved to emphasize the majesty and power of their Creator, were moved to speak in certain psalms of the mightier works of His hand; and in mediaeval Italy the Poor Man of Assisi, inspired by a special comprehension of the fatherhood of God, called on the wild things and the inanimate elements to join with him as brothers and sisters in praising the common Father of all. To the Hebrew and Franciscan schools, it would now appear, the Irish school may be added. None of these schools either deifies nature or makes of it a mere back-

[1] *op. cit.* Moling §§ xxi-xxiv. [2] *Fél. Oeng.* ed. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Soc.) Jan. 31, notes; *cf. ibid.* Aug. 4.

[3] See Gougaud *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (1927) pp. 11-12, where references are given. Reeves in a note on p. 91 of the 1857 ed. of Adamnan's *Vita Columbae* gives some further references to legends connecting saints with birds. Keating preserves a playful tale concerning MoChua who had a cock, a mouse and a fly for pets (Bergin *Stories fr. Keating's Hist. of Irel.*, no. 22).

[4] Miss O'Rahilly *Ireland and Wales* (1924) p. 127, gives reason for believing that it was hermits from Ireland who introduced the nature theme into Wales. This is additional proof of the special connection between nature poetry and the monasteries.

ground for the adventures of men and of manlike immortals. In this respect they differ both from the semi-pantheistic school of modern English-speaking peoples and the pagan schools of Greece and Rome. For the Irish poet, during that period in which nature poetry flourished, God was a Creator, a Ruler and a Craftsman, and the world was beautiful with a beauty borrowed from, but distinct from, His. He was the Maker to whom heaven and earth owed their being :—

Adram in coimmdid
cusnaib aicdib amraib,
nem gelmar co n-ainglib,
ler tondbán for talmain.[1]

He was the Thatcher who had thatched the roof of that great house where the moon and stars are lamps :—

Mu chridecán, Dia du nim,
is hé tugatoir rod-toig.[2]

He was the Lord who sends the morning to shine upon "every state and every kindred" :—

Is mochean in maiten bán
no taed for lár mar lasán :
is mochen don te rusfoí,
in maiten buadach bithnaí.[3]

It must not be inferred, however, that Irish nature poetry is always religious in tone. During the period in which it most flourished it was indeed often combined with that religious theme to which in origin it was so closely related ; but the evidence already considered has shown that it was early secularized and even, in a sense, paganised by lay poets and saga-makers. It will be

---

[1] Thurneysen *Verslehren* II. § 54, in Windisch & Stokes's *Irische Texte* III. "Let us adore the Lord, maker of [lit. 'with the'] wondrous works, Heaven with its angels, the white-waved sea on earth" (8th cent. ?).

[2] From Suibhne's poem, *Thes. Pal.* (ed. Stokes and Strachan) II, p. 294. "My beloved, God from Heaven, He is the Thatcher who thatched it" (9th cent. ?).

[3] "Hail to the Morning fair that as a flame falls [*recte* "comes" ?] on the ground—hail to Him too that sends her—the Morning many-virtued ever new!" *Betha Chellaig* (12th cent.) ed. O'GRADY *Silva Gadelica*, I, p. 56 ; tr. II. p. 59.

well, therefore, before leaving the subject, to trace the stages of this secularisation of the nature theme, even though it involve partial repetition of matter already treated of.

When Patrick came to Ireland there were poets in the country.[1] Little, however, is known of the poetic craft as practised by them, or by the inheritors of their tradition, till the dawn of the 7th century. Recent research has shown that century to have been one of experiment in Irish verse. During it the poets gradually abandoned the old rhythmical alliterative metres, which were probably of native origin, and adopted in their place the rimed syllable-counting unrhythmical metres which prevailed in Ireland from the 8th century down to the 17th. Models for these metres were found in the Latin ecclesiastical hymns,[2] in imitation of which the poets now introduced a strophic formation[3] into their verse; now syllable-counting[4]; now rime[5]; finally rime, syllable-counting and strophic formation along with the alliteration of their old metres. They thus harmoniously combined the old with the new. In an age in which monastic hymn-makers could exercise such an influence on the metre of secular poets it is to be expected that they should exercise similar influence on thought and subject matter. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to look upon the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries as the age in which Irish poetry was made definitely Christian in tone and its scope widened to include those more playful and personal themes which are so marked a feature of the Latin verse of Irish ecclesiastics of the period. These themes are not unusual in Irish syllabic verse. They do not occur in the extant poems (and fragments of poems) in early rhythmical

[1] *cf.* Bury *Life of St. Patrick* (1905), chap. VI, p. 115 and note thereto.
[2] Thurneysen in *Rev. Celt.* VI, 336 ff., and the same author in Windisch & Stokes' *Irische Texte* III, 166-168. [3] Meyer *Ueber die älteste irische Dichtung*, II *Rhythmische allitierende reimlose Strophen* (Berlin, Königl. Preuss, Akad. der Wissensch., 1914). [4] MacNeill in *Studies* XI (1922) 435 ff.; Atkinson *Glossary to Laws* under *techtugad*. [5] Meyer *Ueber d. ä. ir. Dichtung*, I *Rhythmische allitierende Reimstrophen* (Berlin K.P.Ak., 1913); Meyer *Miscellanea Hibernica*, p. 18 ff., "Ancient Irish Poems with Sporadic Rhyme" (Univ. of Illinois, 1917).

metre, all of which seem to be devoted to eulogy and the tracing of noble ancestry. So little has survived of genuinely ancient poetry in rhythmical metre that one would certainly hesitate to argue from the absence of the lighter sort of theme, did not the manner in which this metre is used in the sagas suggest that tradition too connected it in a special way with eulogy, as also with prophetic utterance. Among the more personal themes which the lay poets borrowed from their monastic guides would have been that delight in nature which has been shown to have originated in the monasteries and hermitages of the 6th century.

The highest class of Irish poets, the *filidh*, did not at once accept the monastic metres nor, it is to be presumed, the monastic themes. The majority of the syllabic metres were described by them as *nua-chrutha*, new forms, and as such were considered to be suitable only for *baird*, a class who ranked below the *filidh* proper. They were careful to point out also that the *nua-chrutha* had no price fixed for them in Irish law.[1] But the new forms were destined to prevail, and by the 9th century even the *filidh* had probably yielded and were writing poems in the metre and manner of the monks. It may have been a 9th century *file* who composed the following verses on a blackbird, which are cited as a metrical model in a Middle Irish tract for the instruction of men of his class :—

Int én bec ro-léic feit
do rind guip glanbuidi
Fo-ceird faíd ós Loch Laíg
lon do chraíb charrbuidi.[2]

In a similar tract is preserved in the same way another Old Irish stanza in which the graceful build, yellow beak

[1] THURNEYSEN *Mittelirische Verslehren* (in Stokes & Windisch's *Irische Texte*, 3e Ser.) I, §§ 4 and 68 ; II, § 93 ; and Thurneysen's remarks *ib.* pp. 107, 112, 168.

[2] Ed. by Meyer in *Gaelic Jnl.* V, p. 94, and again in his *Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands* no. 150 (Berlin, Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch., 1919). The quatrain occurs only in § 167 of tract III publ. by Thurneysen in *Irische Texte* III. There is doubt about the correct reading of the last word. "The little bird which has whistled from the end of a bright yellow bill. It has uttered a note above *Loch Laoigh*, a blackbird from a high (?) yellow branch."

and clear note of a blackbird are thus observed and noted :—

Int én gaires asin tsail :
álaind guilbnén as glan gáir :
rind bind buide fir duib druin :
cas cor cuirther, guth ind luin.[1]

Though cited by secular poets in their metrical tracts, it might well be that the foregoing quatrains belonged originally to poems by ecclesiastical authors. There can be little doubt, however, but that the authors of the sagas were all lay-men. By the beginning of the Old Irish period the earlier saga-cycles had already been moulded to a certain form with well marked pagan characteristics. It would have been difficult to introduce into them a new theme without shocking an audience accustomed to a traditional presentation of the matter of which they were composed. The saga-makers of the 9th and following centuries, therefore, very wisely made little or no attempt to christianize these essentially pagan tales, nor did they endow any of the characters appearing in them with the newly discovered attribute of sensibility to the charm of the outdoor world. This, as has been seen, was not the case with two later groups of tales, of which one group had to do with the pagan, Finn, and the other with a Christian king, Suibhne. These groups in the 9th century had not yet been moulded into saga form.

In the tales of that age concerning Suibhne he was already depicted as a madman filled with a strange craving for a life in the woods remote from men. Finn was a more shadowy figure, a warrior who was also a poet and seer, one who had adventures in which men and women from the *síodha*, or fairy mounds, played a part. Whether by the 9th century he was yet known as a lover of the outdoor world cannot be said. Little by little these two groups of tales were added to. From the first

[1] *Irische Texte* III, tract I § 53 ; tract II § 75. "The bird which calls from the willow : beautiful beaklet of clear note : musical yellow bill of a black firm (?) lad : lively (?) the tune that is being played, the blackbird's voice.

group was formed in the 12th century the saga known as *Buile Suibhne*. In it the nature theme, though appearing in a Christian context, has been half paganized. Wild life is contrasted with human, and to Suibhne in his madness the wild sometimes seems preferable :—

Ní charaim an sibheanradh
do-niad fir is mná
Binne liom a ceileabhradh*
luin san aird i dtá.*[1]

The second group of tales gave birth in the 10th century to some dramatic lyrics, fittingly put into the mouth of Finn, the poet-warrior. They were next worked up into prose tales in the saga style of which the most notable are the *Macgnímartha Finn* and the *Acallam na Senórach*, both, it would appear, written in the 12th century, one about the middle and the other at the end. Lastly they were used for the making of a number of ballads or lays : these were composed continuously from the beginning of the 12th century down to the 18th. Though in the literature concerning him Finn retains many of the magic and pagan traits with which folk tradition had endowed him, paganism, as has already been pointed out, was on the whole softened by the Christian authors who gave its tone to this saga tradition. In a heathendom thus partially christianized a modified form of the new theme which had been developed in monastic surroundings would not be out of place. And so it is not surprising to find sensibility to the charm of the outdoor world among the characteristics attributed to Finn, Oisín and Caoilte.

Céttemain caín ré ! *ro-sair cucht and :*
canait luin laíd láin, *dia mbeith laí gaí gann.*

* * * * * *

[1] Spelling slightly normalized from O'Keefe's ed. of *Buile Suibhne* § 40, p. 76 (One or both of the asterisked words require emendation) : " I love not the merry prattle that men and women make : Sweeter to me is the warbling of the blackbird in the place in which it is."

Labraid tradna, trén bard ; canaid ess n-ard n-uar
fáilti do linn te ; tánic luachra luad.

* * * * * *

Greit mer ort imrim ech ; ima-sernar sreth sluag ;
ro-saerad [?] crand gel is-tír ; conid ór eilestar uad.

Ecal fer fann fedil : fo-cain aird ucht :
uissi, ús menn ima-cain : céttemain caín ciúin cucht.[1]

From these verses, part of a long poem which Finn made "to prove his skill in poetry" (*oc fromad a éicse*), it will be seen that, as in the case of *Buile Suibhne*, the theme was more or less paganized by the saga-writers to suit the context into which it had been introduced.

Early Irish nature poetry is noted for its rapidity and joyousness. Its makers possessed a secret of keeping the reader's mind alert and happy, which they seem to have learnt from the story-tellers of the Old Irish period. It consisted in never saying more than was necessary, in passing rapidly over the abstract and discursive phases of their subject and concentrating on the concrete image or fact, for the most part leaving the conclusion or moral obvious, but either unsaid or only half said. By the end of the 12th century, however, as has already been pointed out, nature poetry was losing this freshness, and delight in natural beauty soon ceased to be either a vigorous or a constant theme in Irish literature. Its preservation, in a modified form, down to the 16th century, as a theme of occasional occurrence in the Ossianic ballads is due no doubt to the extreme conservatism of Irish poets, who in these ballads were prolonging the tradition of the early Finn-saga. One is tempted to see some

[1] Summer-time, season supreme ! Splendid is colour then. Blackbirds sing a full lay, if there be a slender shaft of day * * * The corncrake, a strenuous bard, discourses ; the lofty cold waterfall sings a welcome to the warm pool ; the talk of the rushes has come. * * * A wild longing is on you to race horses ; the ranked host is ranged around ; a bright shaft has been shot [?] into the land, so that the water-flag is gold by reason of it. A timorous tiny persistent fellow sings at the top of his voice ; the lark sings clear tidings ; surpassing summer-time of delicate hues." Text from MEYER *Four Old-Irish Songs of Summer and Winter* (1903) pp. 8 ff. (& *Rev. Celt.* V, 201) ; *cf.* tr. *ib.* and *Selections from Anc. Ir. Po.* The construction of the first two lines of the last quatrain is somewhat doubtful. The metre is archaized.

connection between the decay of nature poetry and the decay of monastic influence on Irish poetry in general. For the student of Irish literature must notice that the more inspired type of religious poetry, which one instinctively associates with a monastic author, becomes steadily rarer as the 10th and 11th centuries advance. On the other hand, from those centuries on, polished professional verse, both religious and eulogistic, is preserved in ever increasing quantity in the manuscripts. Professional poets have, indeed, occasionally written something faintly reminiscent of the nature poetry of early days. Donnchadh Mór O Dálaigh's poem on the wren is an example.[1] In it he treats playfully and lovingly of the "bird with a hole through his house." But the charm of the poem is more in its playfulness than in the delight in natural beauty manifested in it. On p. 70 of her *Irish Syllabic Poetry* Miss Knott has given an extract from a poem in praise of Rory O'Donnell, first Earl of Tyrconnell, apparently written in the year 1603 when the earldom was created. It contains a picture of the countryside over which Rory is lord, which, in rapidity and joyousness, resembles the earlier nature poetry very closely. Yet the beauty which the poet describes seems to have been discovered by him accidentally, as it were, the main theme of his verse being the conventional one of the fruitfulness of earth and water under a good ruler.

When the last effort to restore aristocratic Gaelic civilization had been crushed by Cromwell, Irish poetry entered upon a new phase. Henceforth its patrons were farmers and cottiers, and its makers as a rule men of mediocre learning. In the second half of the 17th century, one of these humbler poets, the blind Séamus Mac Cuarta, wrote a touching personal nature lyric on the note of the

[1] ed. Meyer in *Gaelic Jnl.* V, pp. 40-41, where the tr. of the last line of § 3 should be altered to "If rain come they shall be drenched." Donnchadh Mór died A.D. 1244.

cuckoo and the coming of spring.[1] So many years separate this poet from his Old and Middle Irish fore-runners, however, that with him sensibility to the charm of the outdoor world must be regarded as something new. His *trí rainn agus amhrán* are not only an exception in his own century but remain so in the century and a half which follow, and in which poetry of the Gaeltacht tradition still lived. Here and there, indeed, some 18th or 19th century folk song[2] may show traces of true delight in natural beauty, or the conventional scenery of an *aisling* poem may for a moment lose its stiffness and become supple with the magic of reality. Some, too, would hold that there is insight and understanding behind Merriman's description of *Loch Gréine* in *Cúirt an Mheadhonoidhche*, though others find it uninspired and conventional. Whatever differences of opinion exist about the reality of the sensibility to natural beauty manifested in these modern poems, all will agree that it is not alone rarer, but also less intense in quality, than it was with the poets of the Old and Middle Irish periods. From the 13th century on, therefore, Irish literature may be said to show just as much and just as little appreciation of the beauty inherent in the inanimate and irrational products of creation as any other mediaeval or modern literature which is not distinctively a nature literature.

Examination of the history of nature poetry in Ireland has thus made it clear that it is unnecessary to seek for racial causes to explain either its rise or its decline. It depended for its origin, in the first place, on the acceptance of a philosophic truth concerning creation, and secondly on the existence of a class of men educated to appreciate poetry and diligent in improving the methods of their art. It was destined to flourish only as long as a habit of mind akin to that of Irish monks of the first centuries continued to exist, either integrally in the monasteries or

[1] Ó Tuathail *Rainn & Amhráin* (1923) p. 1. [2] *e.g.*, "Cormac Óg" in Borthwick *Ceól Sidhe*, Pt. III (1902) p. 39.

partially in a literary tradition which had developed under monastic influence.

GERARD MURPHY

Here follows a list of Irish nature poems, with dates and reference to some convenient edition :

OLD IRISH LYRIC : *Domfarcai fidbaidæ fál*, ed. Stokes and Strachan, *Thes. Pal.* II, p. 290 (8th or 9th cent.) ; *cf.* also the stray quatrains preserved in the Middle Irish metrical tracts, ed. Thurneysen in Windisch & Stokes' *Irische Texte* III, *In t-én bec*, tract III, § 167 [also ed. Meyer *Bruchstücke*, no. 150, along with some other fragments of nature poetry] (9th cent. ?) ; *In t-én gaires assin tsail*, I, § 53 and II, § 75 (9th cent. ?).

OLD AND MIDDLE IRISH DRAMATIC LYRICS ASCRIBED TO EARLY HERMITS AND OTHERS : to MARVÁN [*fl. c.* 650] *A Maruáin a dhithriubaig*, ed. Meyer *King and Hermit*, 1901 (10th cent. ?) ; to MANCHÁN [† 664] *Dúthracar a maic Dé bi*, ed. Meyer in *Eriu*, I, 1904, pp. 38 ff. (10th cent. ?) ; to CELLACH [made bishop c. 540 ? but in legend brought into connection with Guaire *fl. c.* 650] *Is mochean in maiten bán*, ed. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica*, I, p. 56 (12th cent.) ; to COLUM CILLE [† 597] *Meallach liom bheith i n-ucht oiléin*, ed. O'Rahilly *Measgra Dánta* no. 42 [See also O'Rahilly's note thereto, where other similar poems ascribed to Colum Cille are referred to] (12th cent. ? and earlier) ; to SUIBHNE (wounded A.D. 637, said to be a friend of MOLING who died A.D. 696) *M'airiuclán hi Túaim Inbir*, ed. Stokes and Strachan *Thes. Pal.* II, p. 294 (9th cent.) ; *Gáir na Gairbhe glébinne*, ed. Stokes in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.* II, 23 (11th cent. ?) ; many poems in *Buile Suibhne*, ed. O'Keefe, 1913 (end of 12th cent. and earlier) ; *Rot-fia-su i mBrocros* (praise of a fruitful countryside) ascribed to MOLING in the LL *Bóroma* tract, ed. O'Grady *Silva Gad.* I, p. 364, and FINN's reply *Ros mBroc indiu is conair chuan*, *ib.* p. 365, (12th Cent.).

FINN-SAGA : *Céttemain cain ré* (10th cent.), *Scél lem duib* (10th cent. ?), *Fuitt co bráth* and *Tánicc sam* (11th cent. ?), all ed. by Meyer *Four Old-Irish Songs of Summer and Winter*, 1903. In the *Acallam na Senórach*, written c. 1200, ed. Stokes *Irische Texte* IV, there are many poems in which love of nature is mingled with other themes, *e.g.*, *A meic Lir tairri lium* 1.3674 (semi-magical), *Géisid cuan* 1.843 (animals, *etc.*, bemoan Cael) ; *A thobuir Trágha dhá bhan* 1.91 and *Arand na n-aighedh n-imdha* 1.340 [this last better edited by O'Rahilly *Measgra* no. 40] (praise of places where fruit and game abound). Reference to the joys of outdoor life is fairly frequent in the Ossianic ballad poetry, *cf.* samples, with notes thereon, published by O'Rahilly *Measgra* nos. 37-39 (15th–16th cent. ?).

DÉIRDRE: *Ionmhain tír an tír úd thoir* (praise of places where Déirdre had been happy), ed. O'Rah. *Measgra* 44 (14th cent. ?) [This poem forms part of *Oided mac nUisnig*, ed. Stokes *Irische Texte* II, a late working up of the Old-Irish *Longas mac n-Uislenn :* see Thurneysen *Heldensage* 322 ff.] ; *Gleann measach iasgach linneach* (nature theme somewhat conventionalized), ed. O'Rah. *Measgra* 43 [See note thereto] (14th cent. or later).

LATE LYRICS, ETC. : *Cumhthach labhras an lon-sa*, ed. Knott *Irish Syllabic Poetry*, p. 29 (12th or 13th cent.) ; *Ach, a luin, is buide duit* (stray quatrain) ed. Meyer *Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands* no. 151, Berlin, Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch., 1919 (12th or 13th cent.) ; *Aoibhinn bheith i mBinn Éadair*, ed. O'Rah. *Measgra* 41 (14th cent. or later). See also poems mentioned *supra*, pp. 100–101.

THE MIRACLE OF MODERN THOUGHT

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J., M.A.

IF there is anything more impossible than a miracle it is its impossibility. And if there is anything more indiscernible than a miracle it is the reason why people call it indiscernible. This to a man of mere common sense, who also believes in a God Almighty and All-wise. To such a man there is something pleasingly absurd in the spectacle of a creature drawing up a *Magna Charta* for the limitation of his Creator's power, and, when he has done so, refusing to believe his senses when God oversteps His man-made boundaries. For a man of common sense generally has a sense of humour; and a sense of humour is a short cut to humility, as the sense of the ridiculous to the sense of the miraculous.

The very merits of the book in front of me[1] prompt these remarks. It is written by a distinguished modernist scholar, and is a review of the whole question of miracles. Its command of facts is so wide that it may be recommended to Catholic students and others as the best available compendium of rationalist theory and research; unique amongst books, it justifies its publishers' notice. The author is unfailingly courteous to adversaries and makes a real effort to be fair. If he has any prejudice it is of a kind consistent with honesty, due to the interplay of subconscious motives, perhaps, of which the victim himself is hardly aware. I am afraid I must infer some such bias in him, however. For even were his premises admitted, the only logical verdict to be drawn from them would be that of *Not Proven* against the Church, whereas he returns an unqualified condemnation. But the premises themselves are so far from sound that any Catholic

[1] *Miracle in History and in Modern Thought.* By C. J. Wright, B.D. London: Constable. 1930. 18s. net.

theologian of moderate ability could answer, I believe, conclusively any paragraph in the book. But this would necessitate another volume. All I can do here is to re-state the Catholic philosophy of miracles at least as to their possibility and discernibility, and to let that positive re-construction imply my answer to Mr. Wright. I shall not even have space either to show more than summarily the value of miracle as a criterion of revelation or to prove the historical truth of the Gospels, which I must presume. Much less can I discuss the strange origins of prejudice, the reasons of unreasonableness, how there can be such a thing as sincere disbelief in the Church, or on what weapons ignorance can rely to make itself invincible. And perhaps all that is as mysterious as the song of the Sirens or the bed of the Sibylline Books.

Miracles (at least those related by the Gospels), including prophecies, are the basis of theology because they are the chief, and of themselves the sufficient, proof of the divine Mission of Christ, the divine origin of His doctrine, and so of the infallibility of the Church.[1] Mr. Wright is mistaken in thinking (p. 29) that miracles are necessary as evidence of *God*; this can be gleaned from nature and is presupposed to miracles by Catholics. They are necessary as evidence of Christianity; for this is contingent, not necessary, to creation, and hence no evidence can be gathered for its divine authenticity from nature alone. Its truth depends on revelation, and revelation, to be certain as such, depends on miracles. Now our Lord (Mat. xii. 40, Mark x. 32 &c.) and St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 14) invoked the Resurrection as the prime witness of Christ's divinity. Indeed only two ways (or, at most, three) were possible for God to manifest His pledge or guarantee of the truth of Christ's teaching: by a sensible manifestation of His approval, or by an

[1] That they are the *chief* proof is a personal conviction of my own. Others prefer the moral miracles of Christ's personality and the propagation of the Church. With these arguments I have not space to deal.

immediate or "immanent" production of certainty in our intellects. That the second method has *de facto* not been employed by God is evident from the general experience of mankind and from the admirable diversity of creeds into which those have split who, in the wake of Schleiermacher, have relied on this criterion. We should have to believe that God has amused Himself by hoodwinking men, by unkindly aggravating their already prodigious genius for making mistakes. Mr. Wright (not alone) suggests the possible third criterion: the verisimilitude and obvious credibility of the revelation itself. And doubtless the beauty and power and congruity of Christ's teaching[1] compel in us a strong *inclination* to assent to it, but the *wish* to assent is not sufficient for faith with the ordinary man unless it presuppose the logical conviction of the intellect, and mere congruity is not sufficient for *conviction*. We are driven, therefore, to the one argument of miracles, to which our Lord Himself invited us, as a divine guarantee of revelation, but we shall find it for ever an unshaken citadel.

What then is the nature of this sensible manifestation? What is a miracle? I define it as a work perceptible to the senses, which either in itself or in its manner surpasses all the powers of the material universe, and to which God positively consents. Hence it is either an act of God or is sponsored by Him, and so can be attributed to Him as virtually His own act. It is idle to attack a mere definition. Some may say that events of the kind defined are impossible, or that they have never happened, or at least that they are inadequate criterions of revelation. These criticisms are in order when brought against the arguments based on the definition, but they have no power against the definition itself. For every man has

[1] The argument from the character of the *teaching* is not the same as the argument from the character of the *teacher*. I do not, as I have said, attempt here to estimate the value of the latter argument, beyond saying that I regard it personally as less important than the argument from miracles and prophecies.

a sacred right to say what he means and to say it authoritatively, and this is to define. Mr. Wright therefore should not condemn such definitions merely on the ground that they do not enable us to diagnose miracle in the concrete (p. 31). This is not the function of a definition; it is sufficient that it should determine what the essence of miracle is, as the writer understands it, and so distinguish it from other *concepts*. It may be contended afterwards that the concept thus defined is inadequate for the purpose of demonstration the writer has in view; but meanwhile he may assert it dogmatically.

Having defined miracle, we must now prove its possibility and discernibility as such. The possibility of miracles hardly needs proof. It is hardly questioned at all nowadays; so I need not waste time by recalling the thin and captious pleadings of the old-fashioned sceptics. The best point they made was that only an imperfect intellect would make laws to which occasional exceptions must be admitted; hence the laws given by God to nature do not admit such exceptions. But the most perfect law only regards the normal needs and circumstances of its subjects; it must bow to extraordinary needs. If the keeper of a public park were to keep it locked after hours on a night when the whole city should be in flames, he might with justice be called a stickler. Yet the law of locking gates at sundown is not thereby exposed as imperfect. And the laws of nature are quite adequate to the normal conduct of nature. It is only when God chooses to introduce an abnormal, a supernatural, element into man's life that He is constrained to suspend natural laws. And this suspension, since it happens seldom and for such a good end, is quite consonant with His Wisdom. For the rest, once we acknowledge an Almighty God with absolute power over His creation, the possibility of miracles is evident. But we have yet to prove that, if a miracle is performed, it may be evident *as* such—that it may be discernible.

And first of all I shall give a sound *a priori* proof that certainty in the matter of miracles must be available one way or the other, certainty either that miracles have happened or that they have never happened. The burthen of the argument is this: If miracles, real or apparent, lead us into invincible error or even into invincible doubt, it will not be in our power to use our lives for the purpose for which God intends us to use them; and God is bound by His wisdom to prohibit such frustration of His purpose; hence He is bound to provide us with the means of knowing miracles as His, or of exposing their pretensions. The major premise alone requires proof: God intends us to attain the end He has appointed us by means of the faculties by which man is specified or distinguished amongst His other creatures. A wise man always fashions his instrument to effect his purpose by the operation for which that instrument is specifically fitted by its nature. We should, for instance, regard as prodigal the efforts of a man who should publish an edition of Shakespeare in order to provide himself with shaving-paper. Now the specific faculty or operation that ultimately moves man is his will, which guides itself by the lamp of the intellect. But if the assent of the intellect is not firm, it will give but a flickering and undecided glow and the course of the will accordingly will be devious. Man seeks the things that he loves, and he loves only what he knows. But if he knows these things only as possibilities, not as certainties, he will not stake all upon them nor devote his life to their attainment. If God has not put it in man's power to make sure of the end He has appointed him, He makes it morally impossible for man to pursue that end with determination. And unnecessarily to compel man to grope half-heartedly towards his goal, is surely the proof of incompetence in his Maker. Hence it must be in man's power to make sure of the true religion, and so of the truth of miracles if these are necessary to discern it, as I believe they are.

To frame the conclusion accurately, the wisdom of God demands that we should be able to know with certainty by our natural powers *and in the present state of our knowledge* the sufficiency of the motives for accepting with certainty some at least of the miracles on which any body of doctrine depends for proof, or the insufficiency of the motives for accepting any of them. *Inevitable* scepticism cannot be permitted by a wise God. The conclusion would seem to be forced on us then that where such positive uncertainty exists, it must be attributed to prejudice or interested motives of some kind. Obviously, however, we cannot yet conclude this prejudice of any particular class of men.

Now to acquire this certainty we need a criterion, and the criterion for the discernibility of miracles as such must depend ultimately on a corollary of the principle of causality. This principle states that nothing can begin to be without a cause. It can easily be proved, for it is an early inference from the very notion of being. We conceive being or reality as an act. The real differs from the non-real because the non-real, even though possible, is in a state of non-being. Now an act or (to avoid the charge that we are using a word in two senses) a reality that begins connotes a *transit* from non-being to being. In other words it connotes a real *action*, and this connotes and presupposes a real *enactor*. And lo, we have our cause.

The corollary spoken of above is that the effect cannot under any respect exceed the virtue or power of the cause to produce it. If it did so, this respect, this much of reality, would have come into being without any action, hence without any transit from non-being; and this is a contradiction. From the earliest times the common sense of man, however obscurely, has recognised this principle. We recognise that a hen cannot ordinarily produce puppies, because such a proud prerogative wholly exceeds the humble nature of the cause. Sir James Frazer would have us believe that primitive man accepted thunder as

a phenomenon, without ever dreaming of looking for a cause for it. Nevertheless Sir James himself, if he heard a crash in the kitchen, would certainly attribute it to the activities of the cat rather than to the suicidal caprice of a self-willed soup-plate. (Yet even this explanation implies a cause). And if there is any constancy in human nature or in the behaviour of our minds, primitive man must, however gropingly, have sought a cause for thunder outside of thunder. For by our very concept of being, which is implicit in all our concepts, we are bound to infer for any effect an adequate cause outside of itself.

The bearing of this on the diagnosis of miracles is plain. Whenever we can demonstrate that the effect exceeds the powers of the natural cause or causes, we must infer the concomitant activity of a cause outside of nature. But to establish this disproportion between natural cause and effect, we must have objectively certain knowledge of the natural causes at work. Can we ever have such certainty ? All Catholic theologians assert that we sometimes can (indeed it is a dogma of faith), but not all agree on the methods, the criterion, by which such certainty can be acquired. And most modern adversaries, including Mr. Wright, have singled out this step in the Catholic argument for intensive attack.

Some Catholic theologians say we can have certainty of the utter inability of natural causes to produce certain effects, or at least to produce them under certain circumstances, from our experience alone. We do not know everything that nature can do, but we do know some things that it certainly cannot do. For when an effect differs specifically, whether in itself or in its manner of production, and not merely in degree, from the natural effects which all men have observed, we must infer a cause outside of nature for it. We cannot prevent or certainly cure cancer ; but if one were to do so, one's act would not necessarily be regarded as supernatural, because it would not *specifically* differ from the cure or prevention

of small-pox already naturally effected. But the raising of a man from the dead is so superior in power, so different in kind, from any natural effects, wherever and whenever observed, that we must infer that natural causes never produce such an effect. Hence when such occurs, we can only attribute it to a supernatural cause.

This argument has demonstrative force beyond doubt, but not, I think, conclusive. When an effect differs specifically from what we are led to expect by our experience, we should be imprudent indeed not to infer that it is much more likely to be miraculous than not. It is highly unlikely that a cause that has never acted before in man's experience should now intrude upon that experience with apparent spontaneity. But it is not impossible that it should do this, for we have not observed nor discovered all the causes that exist nor what complexes of circumstances their operations must await. Physical certainty that nature can *never* produce a given sensible effect depends on whether we have thorough knowledge (1) of all the forces of nature, latent and apparent, within the scope of our observation; for until we have full knowledge of the virtue of a cause we cannot assert its inability to produce a certain effect, though we may be unable to discover the conditions necessary to that production. A savage may convince himself of the innocuous character of gunpowder until he tries to extinguish a fire with it. But even granted such knowledge of immediate forces this theory further presupposes (2) that nature outside the scope of our observation is homogeneous with that within it, at least in the negative respect of lacking certain powers or of being unable to exercise them within our field of ken. Mr. Wright is at one with many Catholic theologians in asserting that we cannot be physically certain of the inability of nature to produce *any* material effect that is not in itself infinite. And if we cannot have physical certainty of what nature cannot do, much less can we have metaphysical or moral

certainty of it. We cannot have metaphysical certainty, as there is no contradition apparent in the existence of such unknown forces. We cannot have moral certainty, as the absence or presence of such forces does not depend upon the human intellect or will. To clinch our rejection of this proof we cannot even have that strong physical probability, often (wrongly) called moral certainty, that the main facts of our experience of the conditions of our lives will repeat themselves constantly and infallibly. Such virtual certainty we have that our earth will not collide next Tuesday with a stray planet from an undiscovered system. But we have not this certainty in the case of an effect caused by an unwonted cause; for the alternative here to admitting that this cause exists in nature is to admit the intervention of a supernatural cause; and this possibility is also remote though less remote. Hence supernatural intervention in such an event is only more probable on this argument than the operation of a natural cause hitherto inoperative or unknown.[1]

Is any known way available then of discerning a miracle with certainty? There is assuredly such a way, an obvious and easy one, the way in which any counsel, journalist, or detective will set out to unravel a mystery. This is the historical method, or proof *a posteriori*. Though we may not be certain of what nature absolutely is capable or not capable of doing, we can often know what *de facto* in this particular instance nature has done; for we can have moral certainty, by examination of the particular circumstances, of the natural means employed to produce the effect. At least we can often know, even if natural forces adequate to a certain effect exist, that in a given instance they have not been exercised. When an action unique to our experience is performed at the word of a wonder-worker, unknown natural causes, if they

[1] The Thomists, who reject this proof, have their own highly abstruse theory, which I discuss in a note appended to this article.

operate, must operate in one of three modes: (i) they may operate by pure chance or rather coincidence, simultaneously with, but independently of, the word of the wonder-worker. Or (ii) he may have private knowledge of such powers and consciously and deliberately set them in operation. Or (iii) he may, without knowing it, by virtue of a secret sympathy with his conscious desires, set in operation the subconscious powers of his own soul or of other souls over matter, granted that such powers exist. Now, I say, we can in many cases of marvels exclude all these modes of natural intervention by examination of the circumstances of those cases, and confine ourselves to the extra-natural as the sole adequate cause of the marvels.

The first of these three modes, I think all will agree, is unworthy of consideration as a general explanation of miracles. The second mode we can exclude by our experience of ourselves and others. Such experience testifies that, even if an exceptional man absolutely could acquire such knowledge, such an exception never occurs naturally in certain circumstances. For example, the natural powers necessary to perform the miracles of Christ would be so various and so remote from scientific experience that the scientific geniuses of this learned age, after deliberate and methodical investigation, hardly suspect even their possibility. We cannot then suppose for a moment that a man of an unscientific nation like the Jews, who spent his life as a carpenter in a secluded village two thousand years ago, had clear knowledge and complete control of forces that were unknown to the high cultures of the age, and are to-day hardly suspected even by the most audacious surmise. How could these forces have escaped the resolute search of science for two thousand years and yielded them naked to the eyes of a primitive Jewish labourer? How could he have experimented without attracting attention; without losing the contempt his fellows afterwards expressed in the question:

" Is not this the carpenter " ? You will say that Palestine of the Early Empire was the cross-roads of the world, the highway between Rome and the Orient, and so the caravanserai of sages. True, but Nazareth, inaccessible as an eyrie, was in practice as remote from the trade-routes as Ultima Thule. You will say that such a man may have had infused knowledge from God. So be it, we have our miracle, for we have the intervention of the supernatural to produce a visible effect. And the inadmissibility of this mode of natural causation is confirmed when the life of the agent reveals a mind of such moral integrity and hatred of deceit as to blanch the cheek of blasphemy.

The third method, that of subconscious actuation of occult forces over matter, forces latent in the soul, may be untenable in the same way. If a man, however great his psychic force, once performed wonders by actuation of his subconscious powers, it should be possible, especially in an age of higher culture and advanced knowledge (which affords, for instance, the use of hypnotism and suggestion), to renew the conditions and so achieve *something like* the effect. If the subconscious force of Christ enabled Him to foretell the future, to walk the waves, to raise the dead, to change water into wine or multiply loaves, it should be possible for scientists now to perform at least a drawing-room version of these feats such as would do credit to an amateur. We should let them off hard prophecies, but they should be able to foretell the result of a cast at Monte Carlo. They need not multiply loaves prodigiously, but they should be able to change one half-crown into two. Indeed our adversaries are illogical in giving up the search for the philosopher's stone or its psychological equivalent. Yet, despite their learning and best efforts (as earnest as those of the priests of Baal), not a single instance of success in such elementary achievements has ever been laid to the credit of the human subconsciousness. No one of the scientists has,

as a matter of fact, ever devised a sound method of prophecy or of the multiplication of coins, even for private use; their debts forbid us to believe it, and they surely cannot lack the will to devise such a method. Even if such natural powers exist, no man, least of all a man who has lived in the unintellectual conditions of Christ's environs, has ever succeeded in naturally setting them in action even feebly. We must conclude therefore that *hitherto* these powers have not been used in the instances known to us, since we with our exacter knowledge and many experiments cannot actuate them. We must deny that it was by natural powers alone that Christ has done with ease and distinction what all the wisdom of the ages since has not contrived even faintly to emulate.

In fine, therefore (though it is hard to be accurate here without being cumbrous) we have arrived at this general principle: Mere man can do what mere man has done. When in a society of comparative ignorance an individual performs acts that cannot be repeated in *any* degree by *any* of the natural means discovered by *any* of the experimenters in an age of deep and widely diffused scientific knowledge and method, we must conclude with moral certainty that neither can that individual have known of such natural means and must have used supernatural. It is morally impossible that the knowledge of natural powers, that have been discovered and handed down to history in the records of their effects, should fail to be at least partially recovered through the aid of that clue by the determined and persistent investigations of multitudes of men of genius during many centuries. No assumption of luck, or of genius, or of psychic force in the wonder-worker will serve to subvert this principle, for each of these belongs in some measure to many other men. Human nature is a constant thing, and its powers only vary within certain limits. For the rest, we have the evidence of the Gospels that Christ our Lord has performed such acts.

I must now leave this examination of miracles, however incomplete. I have proved, I hope, conclusively that miracles are possible, that certainty must be accessible of the divine origin of wonders in some cases, or else strong positive probability of their natural origin in every case, and have set forth one criterion by which miracles can often be discerned as such with complete moral certainty. The comparatively easy task remains of demonstrating (besides one or two minor points) the historical truth of the Gospels, and of proving by the application of that criterion that many at least of the acts performed and invoked by Christ to witness to His doctrine were beyond all reasonable doubt miracles and hence incontrovertible proofs of the appropriation of that doctrine by God. To treat these subjects here would make this article much too long, so I must leave them to another article and perhaps to another author.

But even when one strives to divest oneself of the natural and right bias of a Catholic and to view the accumulated arguments for miracles purely in their objective strength, it is hard for one not to be amazed at the mass of instructed opinion that to-day denies flatly the existence of miracles. Interested motives seem not completely to account for this denial, certainly not the meaner motives. There seems something almost preternatural in the capacity of men for rejecting evident truth, some infernal will-o'-the-wisp in their thoughts that leads them out of the road till they stick fast in the clammy wilderness of *idées fixes*. I will say no more save that the miracle of modern thought, at least, is certainly not of divine origin.

NOTE ON THE THOMISTIC PROOF OF THE DISCERNIBILITY OF MIRACLES.

I shall deal with the proof favoured by the Thomists for the discernibility of miracles but summarily, for it is highly technical and difficult for those who are not professional metaphysicians; and besides space is as valuable in *Studies* as it is in New York.

Only God, say the Thomists (*e.g.*, Garrigou-Lagrange O.P. *Dieu* p. 496, Monaco S.J. *Theol. Nat.* §305), can modify being immediately by substantial changes, or changes in the very essence of the substance that can only be effected by the replacement of one substantial form by another. But such an immediate modification is always discernible in miracle. Therefore a Divine act or miracle is always discernible when we can discern such an immediate substantial change. They prove their major premise by pointing out that the *immediate* production of a *substantial* form, production by a mere act of the will, is a production of new *being* and hence specifically the same as an act of creation, which only God can perform. When a creature wishes to produce such a substantial change he can only do so by first changing the subject in which he intends the change; that is, he must first dispose that subject by accidental modifications to educe from its own natural potency the new substantial form required. And this is necessarily a *gradual* process. Hence, they say, only God can produce immediately a substantial change; the word "immediately" is to be understood as denying the employment of any intermediate instrument between the will and its material effect, and hence also as *instantaneous in time.*

Against this theory I oppose the following considerations with many theologians:

(1) It is not proved that God cannot delegate the power of creation to creatures, for example to angels. This is one of the few points in which St. Thomas is not universally followed by theologians. He asserts that creation must be an infinite act because its effect is infinite; there is an infinite distance between any finite quantity and nothing. But if we take any finite continuum, a straight line for example, that line can certainly not be called infinite though it be indefinitely subdivisible. Indeed I know one theologian of note who does not see any conclusive reason against the creation of the souls of children by their parents, that is *mediate* creation by God. Needless to say he does not hold this fantastic theory as more probable.

(2) The modification of being is probably *not* a *production* of being, and hence differs specifically from creation. In such modification a substantial form is not necessarily produced at all. Probably the soul is the only substantial form in existence, for the existence of other substantial forms cannot be proved from substantial changes, even if these could be proved to take place, and this proof is the only one on which the protagonists of classical hylomorphism really rely. But if the form produced be only accidental this can be conferred by creatures immediately from the outside. For an accidental form is not in itself being, but a mode of being; its reality or being *is* simply the being of its subject, or rather its subject being *such*. And there is no reason why creatures should not confer a mode of this kind immediately.

(3) (And this point and the next will be readily appreciated by the lay reader). In practice we can never know that the modification is immediate; (*a*) neither in time, because a moment may intervene, too brief to be noticed (remark that St. Augustine held a miracle was the supernatural *hastening* of a natural process), nor (*b*) in conjunction of cause and effect, for that brief moment *may* suffice for the production and operation of at least accidental changes.

(4) Lastly it is unlikely that God would demonstrate the veracity of His public declaration by a criterion applicable only by advanced metaphysicians. Most men would have to accept on their sole authority the facts (namely, miracles) that prove the divine prerogatives of the Church; and metaphysicians, without the authority of the Church, are no more infallible than other men. The discernibility of miracles must be a matter for common sense, for the logic of the plain man.

But again this theory, like the one refuted in the text, has *confirmatory* value; for *sudden* effects are so contrary to our experience as to argue with probability a cause outside nature.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE[1]

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.

FOR the tourist who is whirled in a motor coach along the beautifully graded road that winds its way upwards from Grenoble through the steep wooded valley to the little open *plateau* amid the mountains of Dauphiné where lies the Grande Chartreuse—an expedition that is easily accomplished in both directions between lunch and dinner—it is difficult to visualise the anticipations of peril and adventure with which eighteenth century travellers undertook the ascent, and not to smile at the sense of awe and wonder with which, in the best romantic manner, they described in their letters home torrents and precipices, beetling rocks and silver cascades and possible avalanches.

The drive, bereft of all terrors, still remains one of the loveliest that can be imagined, and its charm renders only more poignant the sense of desolation and dismay which must fill the heart at least of every Catholic, when the goal of the long ascent is reached. For to-day, on this historic site, so rich in religious memories, there is neither monk nor cloister, neither peace nor silence, neither prayer nor recollection. The material buildings are indeed there; but round their ancient walls, through the summer months, char-a-bancs are parked in rows, itinerant vendors carry on a busy trade in photographs and cakes, and long queues of tourists of all nations take their turn at exploring a building which for centuries was hidden from every profane eye. The monk's chapel is cold and empty, the long cloisters neglected and forlorn.

Le Désert de la Grande Chartreuse. By André Pascal. (Grenoble, 1892).
Le Désespéré. By Léon Bloy. (Paris: Mercure de France).
Les Chartreux. By Émile Baumann. (Paris: Grasset. 1928).
Le Drame de la Grande Chartreuse. By Léon Poncet. (Dijon, 1930).

The little houses, so ingeniously planned to provide all that was needful for the solitary occupant—a work-shop and wood-store below, study, bed-room and tiny oratory above—are now invaded by a curious and joking crowd who make frivolous comments on all they see before hurrying back to their motor-coaches with the satisfied knowledge of having " done " the Chartreuse. To one or two of us, on the occasion of the writer's visit, the scene was so intolerable that, to the vast annoyance of the official guide, we broke away from the exploring party and insisted on awaiting their return outside. It is true that the dignified seventeenth century monastery, with its high-pitched roofs, still stands and is duly cared for by the French Government as a " monument historique " ; none the less the site to-day, in any spiritual sense, is as much a " desert," as when, more than eight centuries ago, Bishop Hugh of Grenoble presented the almost inaccessible spot to St. Bruno and his companions.

How this lamentable situation came about has been told in detail by M. Léon Poncet, a well-known Catholic journalist of Dauphiné, in a recently published volume, *Le Drame de la Grande Chartreuse.* It is known to all the world that the Carthusians were literally driven out of their monastery under the Combes administration in 1903 at the same time as many other religious congregations, but the special iniquity of the enforcement of the Associations Law in the case of the Grande Chartreuse is often overlooked, and so too the serious material loss which the dispersal of the community has entailed on the whole neighbourhood. For in spite of their dissolution during the years of the French Revolution, the Carthusians had a far stronger claim to their property than most of the restored convents. The return of the monks to France had been in virtue of a special decree of April, 1816, applicable to them alone, restoring to them as tenants of the State all the monastic buildings of the Chartreuse and a portion of the surrounding pasturage and forest

land, whereas the bulk of the religious congregations, both male and female, returned on the strength of a general law passed in the following year. And although no further express act of authorisation was ever conferred on the monks by the Government, various later concessions were made to them, such as a reduction in the amount of their annual tribute and an increase in their forest rights, which justified them in believing their position to be virtually secure. Moreover, in 1857, under the Third Empire, when an effort was being made from Rome to transfer the seat of the Generalship to that city, the then French Minister of the Interior wrote to the Procurator of the Charterhouse to point out that the continued residence of the General on French soil was one of the conditions of the enjoyment of the various privileges conferred, " so that the transfer of his residence to a foreign country would expose them to the loss of these concessions." Finally, when in March, 1880, the first decrees dissolving religious associations were passed, no action of any sort was taken against the Carthusians and M. Waldeck Rousseau himself, when appealed to by Dom Michel Baglin, the Carthusian General, as to the effect of the new law of 1901 on their position replied officially (August 26, 1901) that there was no doubt that the Congregation enjoyed " a quite special situation," which would undoubtedly be taken into account by the Chamber of Deputies. Thus it was scarcely presumptuous of them to hope that even in the midst of the storm that was to engulf so many of their co-religionists, they might be left in peace in their mountain retreat. Unhappily a few months later M. Waldeck Rousseau was replaced as Prime Minister of France by M. Emile Combes.

The monks had a further reason for confidence based on material considerations. Ever since the return of the Order in 1816 they have been most generous benefactors to the whole countryside. It is true that the immense development towards the middle of last century of the

demand for their celebrated liqueur—a secret and skilful compound of herbs found on their mountain—placed amazingly large sums in the hands of the General; but beyond the heavy expense of keeping large buildings in an exposed situation in good repair, little or nothing was spent on the comfort of the members of the community. Just how the money was expended can best be learned, not from any religious source, but from the official report on the Grande Chartreuse drawn up by the prefect of the department of the Isère at the instigation of M. Waldeck Rousseau, when Dom Baglin made his first formal request for authorisation in 1902, as well as from a lengthy resolution in favour of the retention of the monks, adopted by the Grenoble Chamber of Commerce in the preceding year.

From these two independent documents we learn that although the Father General undoubtedly contributed very large sums annually to purely religious objects, such as Peter Pence, the building of churches and the endowment of Catholic schools—which the prefect regarded as uncalled for—the Carthusians gave generously for purely material objects and for the alleviation of local distress. Thus they had built in 1892 and maintained ever since an up-to-date hospital of 80 beds at a yearly cost of 80,000 francs, as well as a school for 65 deaf-mutes to whom trades were taught at an annual cost of 60,000 francs. They had subscribed 5,000 francs towards a lay school for boys, and no less than 50,000 francs to the commune of Voiron when it had been overwhelmed by a disastrous inundation. The construction of a useful local railway had been largely subsidised by them as well as the construction of various mountain roads, while innumerable families lived off the wages earned in the liqueur factory at Fourvoirie and not a few more thanks to the many visitors and tourists who even then made the long ascent to the monastery. Besides all this the daily gifts both of food and money to every beggar who

came to the door were quite beyond computation. In a word, it was clear from both documents that the departure of the Carthusians would be nothing short of a disaster for all the poor and all the philanthropic agencies of the country-side, and indeed a realisation of this fact naturally helped to inspire the numerous petitions and addresses—one of them with over 76,000 signatures—that poured in from all the neighbouring communes when the news of the probable closing of the monastery was spread abroad.

Unfortunately there was another side to the picture. Wealth, however well and wisely used, is certain in this world to excite envy and malice, a sad truth that the religious Orders have been slow to grasp. Just as before the Revolution the peasantry and gentry were often incensed against the monks owing to their very wide seigneurial rights and the locally inconvenient extent of territory which was wholly barred to women and largely closed to men, thus necessitating a wide *détour* for travellers, so, after the Revolution, the reports of the untold riches being heaped up by the sale of the green chartreuse roused the wrath and cupidity of all the free-thinkers and free-masons among the industrial population of the Isère. The very charity of the Carthusians was made into a grievance by those who resent the poor getting " something for nothing," and who professed to see wide demoralisation and increased alcoholism among the local peasantry owing to the open-handed benevolence of the monks. This view was much emphasised in a singularly spiteful book by a M. Pascal, a medical practitioner of the neighbourhood, who, for reasons unknown, had ceased to number the monks among his patients, and who took his revenge by writing, with considerable skill and research and in an antagonistic spirit, a History of the Grande Chartreuse, which no doubt played its part in exciting local prejudice against the community at a time when anticlericalism was specially rampant in France.

The result of the controversy, carried on in the press,

with all the bitterness that religious differences are so apt to engender, was seen in what M. Poncet justifiably describes as the "scandalous" debate in the French Chamber (March 27, 1903), when, in spite of an eloquent protest from the Abbé Lemire, the request of the Carthusians for authorisation was rejected by 338 votes to 231. A delay of fourteen days was granted to the Community in which to quit the home which had been theirs for over one thousand years. Dom Michel Baglin, however, was not disposed to submit to injustice without a protest, and in a dignified letter to M. Combes he declared that force alone would silence the prayers on their lips. Then followed the historic scene of April 29th, when gendarmes and magistrates, infantry and cavalry collected in the early dawn on the mountain side and forced their way to the monastery entrance through a hostile crowd of some 5,000 Catholic demonstrators who had spent the night in the surrounding woods. The main door was broken open, and in the end the thirteen fathers and ten lay brothers were led out of the chapel, each between two gendarmes, and conducted down the mountain road amid the cheers of their supporters. Thus the last of the Carthusians quitted French soil.

"How can we expel people who provide so admirable an aid to our digestions?" is a remark attributed a few years earlier to the genial Felix Faure sitting with a glass of chartreuse in his hand at the close of a banquet. And there can be no doubt that the celebrated liqueur was an important consideration in the minds of the persecutors of its inventors. Monasteries are not confiscated, so to speak, in the air, and there is never any lack of men who aspire to grow rich on ill-gotten gains. The real estate of the Carthusians throughout France was estimated at some 5 million francs, but what had excited the cupidity of their enemies was the value of the trade mark of the liqueur. This, M. Poncet tells us, had been valued some dozen years earlier at no less than 30 million francs by a

group of capitalists eager to acquire it at that price. The Carthusians refused to sell, and, as was openly said later, had they accepted the offer, they might have remained for ever in undisturbed possession of their retreat.

The discreditable story of the liquidation cannot be told here in any detail. Suffice it to say that the liqueur manufactured by the liquidator was so inferior that within a year the monthly consumption fell from 50,000 bottles to a mere 3,000, and a few years later the trade mark was sold for only 502,000 francs. Meanwhile the true liqueur was being manufactured by the monks at Tarragona in Spain. There followed legal proceedings on legal proceedings, scandal on scandal, until in 1914 Jean Jaurès himself, whom no one could accuse of religious leanings, declared as president of a committee of enquiry that the Chartreuse scandal was " une affaire énorme." Even to-day, we are told, its affairs are not wholly cleared up. Perhaps the only consoling feature is that no one concerned realised the fortune that was anticipated.

The history of the real estate of the Carthusians has been scarcely less disedifying. What could be done with these vast and remote buildings ? Organised for the Carthusian life they have proved impossible to adapt to any other purpose, while the fees from visitors have been quite inadequate for the maintenance of the place in decent repair. At one time an effort was made to adapt it as a dairy school, but pupils declined to be attracted to so chilly a spot. It was not till 1912 that the French Government, alarmed at the scandal of allowing the monastery to fall into ruins, decided to class it as a " historic monument " and thus to undertake full responsibility for its maintenance. In other words the country now pays for doing what the dispossessed Carthusians did far more effectually for themselves. Since the war a grotesque plan has been mooted for adapting the place as an international home for " fatigued intellectuals," but

the scheme has been laughed out of court. In sober truth there is but one solution to the problem: the return of the Carthusians to their Carthusian home, and this, in the first years after the war, might easily have been accomplished by any firm government.

It is noteworthy that none of the daughter-houses has ever approached in reputation and piety the monastery that has always remained pre-eminently the *Grande* Chartreuse—not even the attractive Cartuja, a few miles out of Burgos, with its lovely white chapel enriched with sculptured tombs, nor Farneta, now the mother-house of the Order, in its gay Tuscan landscape, and least of all the world-famous Certosa of Pavia, whose cloistered existence has vanished beneath the accumulation of its artistic treasures which have long been swept back into the orbit of the ubiquitous tourist. None of the numerous French houses which from time to time have been established, seems to have attained to any marked degree of sanctity or permanence. Clearly it was to the Grande Chartreuse itself that was drawn that rare élite of souls to whom the austere remote life offered the fullest promise. And now that it exists no longer, it is curious to reflect that it is in the modern Charterhouse of Parkminster in Protestant England, to-day the largest house of the Order, where the life of the recluse can be led with the fullest sense of security and permanence. And the true injury that M. Combes inflicted upon France is precisely to have deprived her of a similar centre of prayer and mystical attainment.

That the Grande Chartreuse, all through the ages, has been a great civilising agency in Dauphiné is now widely recognised. It was the monks who cleared the forest, made roads, built bridges, cultivated virgin land and bred valuable flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. Their iron foundries and forges were celebrated from the 13th century onwards, so that even the inimical M. Pascal records (p. 376) that their iron was of finer temper and commanded

higher prices than any other in Southern France, while their sword-blades were celebrated throughout Europe. Yet the true justification of the monastery lies, of course, in its fulfilling a high spiritual purpose in the life of the nation, and it is precisely this perpetual life of prayer and immolation of self that is apt to elude us. Visitors testify to the beauty of the site and record a few picturesque details from the glimpses of the daily routine vouchsafed to them, but of the real hidden life of the spirit led, day and night, behind these high walls we know as a rule absolutely nothing.

Happily two Catholic writers, one last century and one still living, have each lifted a corner of the veil for those who thirst after fuller understanding. Undoubtedly the most penetrating study of the mystical significance of the Carthusian vocation is to be found in that most tragic of books, *Le Désespéré*, by Leon Bloy, much of which is known to be autobiographical. It is difficult to realise how the intellectually clear and orderly French nation came to produce so wild and disordered a genius as Bloy. A devout believer of so ferociously uncompromising a type that nothing short of sanctity could satisfy him, and hence a relentless and even vindictive rebel against all the shams and conventions of society and of the rottenness of Paris life—seen, as Bloy was forced to see it, almost from the gutter—he, on one occasion, spent a few weeks at the Chartreuse and found there all that his spiritual nature craved for. The beneficent silence, the reality of the mystical life striven after day by day, filled him with admiration; but most of all he found in his Carthusian friends the serenity of soul in which he himself was so wholly deficient. He quickly realised that the very kernel of the religious observance lay in the long night office, so ruthlessly cutting the hours of sleep in twain, which to the outsider appears so unreasonable a burden and which admittedly is a greater strain on human nature than any other sacrifice imposed by the

rule. A mere visit to the Grande Chartreuse, he says, reveals but little, and "no one can penetrate to the flower of its mystery without being present at the night office. There is to be found the true perfume that transfigures this rigid retreat which offers so melancholy a sojourn to the purveyors of pious sentiment. . . . When once one has been present at it one realises that hitherto one has known nothing of the contemplative life" (p. 139). And referring to the apparent monotony of Carthusian existence, he adds further on: "Beneath this Rule that appears so harsh, so cold, behind this isolating barrier, he could discern the glories of a life hidden in God, ... a life of superabundant joy, of celestial intoxication, of a peace beyond words, of an infinite variety."

In a calmer and more balanced spirit that attractive Catholic writer, Emile Baumann, author of *Job le Prédestiné*, has made a prolonged study of the Carthusian vocation, for which he himself in his youth felt a transient attraction as the result of an excursion to the Grande Chartreuse. Received everywhere as a friend—at Miraflorès, at Calci, at Farneta, at La Valsainte—he was able to observe the Carthusian type, to study their Rule and their Office, to apprehend at once the blessings and the perils of solitude, and to penetrate in some measure the secret of their holiness and of that inward joy which shone on the countenance of not a few among them. He is helped to understand the carefully thought-out balance maintained between the solitude and the community life: the lonely little dwelling-house for prayer, for sleep and for manual labour, but the community Mass each morning in chapel, the divine office in choir, the dinner in common with the *colloqium* on Sundays and feast-days, and the long walk once a week from which no one is exempt and during which talking is allowed. The principal austerity of the life, he is told, is the solitude, but the true aim is contemplation. A "perfect contemplative" at Calci makes him understand how every

method of meditation becomes useless when once a soul possesses an uninterrupted sense of divine omnipresence. Such a sense remains with him all day, whatever his occupation ; the more he contemplates, the easier contemplation becomes. For the novice strictly defined occupations for every hour of the day is the rule ; he is never for a moment left to his own devices and the danger of his own vagrant thoughts, and the " Directory " of Dom Le Masson, a celebrated novice-master of the seventeenth century, supplies the text on which the spiritual training is built up. On the other hand a sturdy French procurator tells him that without hard manual work mental equilibrium would be difficult to maintain. Even in a Carthusian community there is need, he reflects, for practical as well as mystical natures. To be introduced, he concludes, into the intimacy of the Carthusian life is to be brought in touch with the sources of the mystical union.

This sympathetic *exposé* of the hidden life should be read in conjunction with M. Poncet's loyal and indignant account of recent external events. The Carthusian life will surely continue in other lands as a high and difficult vocation for certain rare souls ; but, as M. Baumann sadly reflects, an Order which for centuries has been one of the spiritual glories of France, will become less and less French.

In his fascinating volume, *France et Rome*, Louis Madelin points out that, in all her controversies with Rome, France manœuvred for her rights as a rather headstrong " fille aînée " who, however, never had any serious wish to break away from her honoured parent, and always intended to remain within the Catholic tradition. On the other hand the rupture of the Concordat by the Third Republic was a deliberate reversal of the age-long policy of France carried out by the non-Catholic representatives of the people. So too the deliberate cold-blooded dispersal of the religious orders under the Associations Law was, in a sense, a much more flagrantly

anti-Catholic act on the part of the nation than even the violently godless storm of the French Revolution, which was part of a great popular upheaval, and the policy of which was quickly reversed on his coming to power by Napoleon as a necessary first step to national appeasement. The fundamental Catholicism of the French nation was never more clearly established than by the truly amazing rapidity with which the Church recovered her lost ground during the first half of the nineteenth century. To-day there are no signs of so swift a recrudescence. Great masses of the French people stand as much in need of re-conversion as confessedly non-Catholic nations, and the chasm between them and the profoundly devout Catholic minority tends to become deeper and more permanent. Thus the closing of the Grande Chartreuse, with its thousand years of spiritual vitality, is at once a sign of religious impoverishment and an added hindrance to that Christian re-birth which all friends of France must desire.

V. M. Crawford.

HOW TO SEE IRELAND ON FOOT

BY D. DONNELLY, S.J., M.SC.

TOURISTS, unlike all Gaul, are divided into two quite distinct parts. There are wealthy tourists, who travel in their own cars, who stop at the best hotels, and who are concerned little about expense, but a great deal about comfort; and there are poor tourists, whose holiday tour is the fruit of long and careful saving, who tramp or cycle more often than they ride, and whose main preoccupation is to do things as cheaply as possible. Of course, the boundary line between these two groups is not a hard-and-fast one: there are wealthy tourists who cannot afford a Rolls-Royce, and poor tourists who, having stinted themselves of pleasures for many a weary month, are out now to have a real good holiday regardless of cost. But the principle of the division is clear and simple: a "wealthy" tourist is one who wants comfort and is prepared to pay for it or else stay at home; while a "poor" tourist wants the tour even at the cost of less luxurious living, and will readily accept primitive hospitality in order to make his money go farther and his tour a more prolonged one. The distinction is very well recognized in countries such as Switzerland, southern Bavaria and the Austrian Tyrol, which cater yearly for a large body of very diverse foreign visitors, and cater for them according to their requirements.

Now, the thesis of these pages is, that in Ireland no provision whatever exists for the "poor" tourist, and that as a consequence the class does not exist; that with a very little thought and organization a great deal might be done; and that this would be no small national service. Observe, there is question only of the "poor" tourist. No one would be more sorry than the writer to

appear to criticize in any way the courageous and successful efforts which are being made to develop tourist traffic in Ireland. But a moment's reflection will convince the reader that all these efforts are concerned with what we have called the " wealthy " tourist. We are preoccupied here with quite a different problem.

To come now to our thesis. Few, we think, will wish to dispute the first proposition, that in Ireland no provision for the " poor " tourist exists. Nevertheless, a brief contrast between the state of affairs in Ireland and in Europe in this regard may afford matter for serious consideration. For example : About a year and a half ago an excursion for schoolboys was organized from Innsbruck (where the writer recently spent several happy years) to Rome. The trip included return ticket (3rd class) from Innsbruck to Rome, and board and lodging for a week in the Eternal City. The cost amounted to £4.

Again : an excursion was arranged (privately) this year for young men from Ireland to the Passion Play at Oberammergau. The arrangements included saloon on boat from Dublin to Liverpool ; no night travelling by train (but only on the boats) at any part of the trip ; journey out through the Black Forest, across Lake Constance by boat, by Feldkirch and Innsbruck to Oberammergau ; two nights at Oberammergau, before and after the Play ; return by Munich, Mayence, the Rhine, Cologne, Brussels and London. The tour lasted an entire fortnight, and cost £14. Yet—and this is the point to be emphasised—almost £6 of this sum was spent on the part of the journey from Dublin to France and return, though this lasted only two days and four nights and included no hotel bills. The remainder of the tour cost therefore only £8, and might easily have cost much less, had the party been anxious to practise extreme economy.

Let us analyse a little further. On this trip the journey by express train right across France to Strasbourg represented only about £1, while the return ticket

from Dublin to Liverpool alone cost £1 10s. plus berth charges. As regards hotel expenses : The party put up, usually, at young men's hostels, where they got clean, comfortable beds and an abundance of excellent, well-cooked food for (on the average) 3s. 6d. per night—this represented supper, bed and breakfast. Where in Ireland can anything like this be had ? Why, the farewell breakfast in Dublin on the last morning of this trip cost alone 3s. per head, and the charge, according to Irish prices, was not exorbitant. And if a Dublin family make a little excursion on a Sunday afternoon out to one of the seaside (or inland) beauty-spots around the city, they must reckon with paying anything from 1s. to 2s. per head for afternoon tea—though the eatables given with the tea are usually of the type, and above all of the quantity, once designated by a friend of ours with the delicious phrase " lace " !

It is by no means in a spirit of criticism that these facts and figures are mentioned. Throwing stones is the easiest and most profitless occupation in the world—and that particularly perhaps in this matter of tourist prices, where there is so little difficulty in explaining the present state of things, but such considerable difficulty in remedying them. A workable constructive policy is of more value than reams of destructive analysis. May we therefore ask the reader's tolerance, if we venture to indulge here in a wide, but (as will be seen) quite relevant digression ? We propose to study very briefly the constitution, ideals and achievements of one of Germany's most successful cheap-tour organizations, the *Deutscher und Oesterreichischer Alpenverein*, in an effort to learn from it methods applicable to Ireland.

One would wish to begin a sketch of the D.u.Oe.A.V. after a fashion dear to the heart of Stevenson –perhaps something like this : The two climbers topped the steep saddle a little wearily, hitched the knapsacks more comfortably upon their shoulders, and set off down the wind-

ing track towards the tiny green *Alpe* amidst the pine trees, where the hut lay still and clear-cut among the lengthening shadows seven hundred feet below. It would be the most vivid and colourful form in which to describe the writer's first meeting with the work of the D.u.Oe.A.V., the association to whose well-directed zeal and enthusiasm climbing in the Eastern Alps owes so much more than a non-climber can ever understand. Such a Stevensonic beginning would permit one to tell at once of a large *Hütte*—bungalow is probably the best English term—perched high on a rocky shoulder, 4,000 feet above the valley beneath and 6,000 feet above the sea; of sleeping accommodation for fifty persons; of a Tyrolese *Bauernstube*, wood-panelled on walls and ceiling, with a guitar hanging on a hook beside the low window, and chamois-horns above the door; of a brimming plate of hot soup that cost 3d., while hot coffee and bread came to about the same. But *Studies* is a sober journal; we must be less dramatic in our elucubrations!

The object of the D.u.Oe.A.V. is "to spread and to deepen the knowledge of the mountains, to promote and foster mountaineering, to increase facilities for climbing in the Eastern Alps, to maintain their beauties and primitive characteristics . . ." These aims have been and are being handsomely fulfilled. The Verein was founded by the amalgamation of two older *Vereine* in 1874, and counts at present a membership of 228,173, distributed in 434 sections. Its activities are manifold: the editing of a fortnightly news-sheet, the "Mitteilungen des D.u.Oe.A.V.", of a year-book, the "Zeitschrift des D.u.Oe. A.V.", (both for private circulation), of climbers' maps, etc.; the building of new "huts" in the mountains, and the maintaining and management of those already built; the marking of new routes and the re-marking of old ones; the training and certifying of guides and teachers of ski-ing; the provision of accident stations; the extension of the splendid Alpine Museum in Munich;

the preparation of lantern-slides and lectures. This list by no means exhausts the field of its endeavour.

Of these activities, however, the most valuable to the ordinary climber is the provision, high up in the heart of the mountains, of "huts" where he can get food and a night's lodging at astonishingly cheap rates. We speak from memory, but we are hardly wrong in saying that within a circle of twenty miles of Innsbruck (the centre which we know best) there are twenty to thirty of these admirably-managed little inns, lying several thousand feet up amongst the mountains at the foot of glaciers of higher peaks; and these "huts" make a multitude of tours possible and numbers of peaks accessible which otherwise would lie beyond the powers of the ordinary climber.

The constitution of the D.u.Oe.A.V. is a little masterpiece of German organization. The *Verein* consists of three main bodies, a General Assembly, a Central Committee, and the *Sektionen*. The members of the Verein are not (immediately) the individual climbers, but the *Sektionen*, which alone have a right to vote at the General Assembly, though each individual member may attend. In other words, if I wish to join the D.u.Oe.A.V., I cannot do so directly, but only indirectly, by joining some Sektion, say, the *Sektion Innsbruck*. I can take part in all the deliberations of my Sektion and can vote at them; but if I attend (as I have a right to do) the General Assembly of the whole D.u.Oe.A.V., which is held every year, I have no power of voting. My only active voice is that of the representative of my Sektion. The main task of the General Assembly is to elect the Central Committee, who then appoint from amongst themselves a Working Committee to deal with the administration of the Verein.

Let us consider for a moment how all this works in practice. Suppose that in some German or Austrian city (or even in some city outside Germany or Austria),

say Magdeburg, there are a number of young men and women interested in mountain-climbing. They meet together and decide to join the D.u.Oe.A.V. One of their number is appointed Secretary and Treasurer. (Needless to say, a far more cumbrous organization than this would be considered *de rigeur* by young Germans !). He writes away to the Central Committee, asking that the " Sektion Magdeburg " be admitted to membership of the D.u.Oe.A.V., and enclosing the yearly subscription for each of his members ; and the D.u.Oe.A.V. receives the Sektion Magdeburg as a new member.

The *Sektion Magdeburg*, however, is itself a small independent corporation, holding its own funds (except for the yearly subscription—about 20 Mk. per head—paid to the Central Committee), and possessing its own constitution, meetings, committee and officers. Suppose now that the *Sektion Magdeburg* is a large and flourishing group, and that after a few years the committee find that they have funds enough in hands to undertake some work in the interests of the whole *Verein*. They write away to the Central Committee, and are allotted as their *Arbeitsfeld*, let us say, the western end of the Nordkette near Innsbruck. They examine their territory, see that all the paths are marked and kept up, and after a time come to the conclusion that the most urgent need of their district is a hut at the head of the Wörgltal. They set to work, choose their site, hire contractors, and in a few months time their " hut " is built.

" But why in the wide world should Magdeburg concern themselves with building a hut on the Innsbrucker Nordkette ? " comes the obvious question. " Are the Magdeburgians all to be compelled to spend their holidays for the future in and around Innsbruck ? " By no means. The members of the *Sektion Magdeburg* have access at members' terms to *all* the huts of the D.u.Oe.A.V. It must be remembered that these " huts " are simply little hotels, open to welcome all comers, but managed

by the various *Sektionen* of the D.u.Oe.A.V. Visitors who are not members of the D.u.Oe.A.V., however, are charged a tax for the use of the hut, and in addition have to pay twice, sometimes even three times as much for food and lodging as D.u.Oe.A.V. members. As the charge for non-members is by no means exorbitant, it will be realised how advantageous it is to be a member of the *Verein*. In the course of a single tour the annual subscription may be saved many times over.

The fundamental question, however, seems to remain but partially answered, for if Magdeburg, whether they themselves build a hut or not, have access on equal terms with other members to the D.u.Oe.A.V. huts, why should they undertake the worry and trouble of building a hut of their own ? To that question there are three answers. One reason, and not the least, is the wonderful public spirit of the Germans as a people—a virtue to which we Irish seem to have an inborn contrary polarity ! For a German, if he sees a chance of benefiting the community without much trouble and at no loss to himself, will generally seize the opportunity. A second reason is the paternal vigilance of the Central Committee, who have no intention of suffering drones in their hive. And the final answer is, that these huts are by no means a liability. Remember that over two millions of persons spend their holidays yearly in the Austrian Tyrol alone, many of them ardent climbers, and you will realise that the number of visitors passing through one of these huts in the course of a single summer may easily run into many hundreds. The huts are usually rented for the season to some peasant hotel-keeper from the valley below, the prices for food, drink and lodging being so determined by the contract that the lessee makes a moderate profit, while the *Sektion* receives moderate interest on the money invested in building the hut. Should this prove impossible owing to the inaccessibility of the hut and consequent dearth of visitors, and should the hut nevertheless fill a

real need, the Central Committee are often prepared to grant a substantial subsidy from the central funds.

What now has all this to do with Ireland? Well, this much: we have already in Ireland an organization, less wealthy but no less vigorous than the D.u.Oe.A.V., which could confer a vast benefit upon many, were it to direct its thoughts and energies to this question of cheap hostel-building. This organization is the Catholic Boy Scouts. Let us suppose—the thing could be done without difficulty—that the Boy Scout movement were to be developed as a cheap-touring organization somewhat on the lines of the D.u.Oe.A.V. (For the matter of that, a new organization might be started. There are many such organizations in Germany and Austria. We have chosen as our example merely one of the most striking).

Let us suppose that the Sektionen agreed amongst themselves to get their members to subscribe 1d. per week towards a building fund. Assuming that 5,000 Scouts actually subscribed (surely a *very* moderate estimate), this would mean over £1,000 a year. But less than £1,000 would build a very comfortable bungalow, with dormitories, a good big diningroom, a drying-room (most necessary in our climate), and a neat, modern kitchen, capable of dealing rapidly with the demands of many hungry boys. Choose your site well; put in charge a capable caretaker who would do the catering; sell your Scouts their food at the lowest possible prices (*e.g.*, tea 5d. per ¼ lb, butter 5d. per ½ lb., margarine 3d. per ½ lb., jam 6d. per pot, bread 4d. per loaf, cheese 3d. per ½ lb., and so on); exact from every other visitor a tax for the use of the hut and increased prices for meals and lodgings—and there would be many other visitors, for a canteen organized on these lines could give a substantial tea for 10d. and make a 10 per cent. profit.

"All very fine in theory!" comes a sceptic comment. "But suppose the theory proved false, and the undertaking turned out after all to be a liability?" Well, in

that case there remains the balance of that £1,000, and the whole of next year's £1,000, if need be, to finance an undertaking which would make possible a splendid holiday for many troops of boys, and would provide a welcome place of excursion for many impecunious young persons, now condemned to idle away their free afternoons in the streets of our big city. The thing would need a little courage and a little careful organization, to ensure that no two batches of Scouts or parties on the tramp wished to occupy the dormitories at the same time; but this difficulty is met and solved in the hundreds of *Jugendherbergen* with which Germany is so richly sown.

This would, however, be but the beginning of bigger things. This much could be done at once, and without trouble, and by an organization already in existence. But one looks forward to the future, and sees in imagination the coast-line of Ireland dotted from Main Head to Mizzen Head and from Howth to Achill with cheap hostels of the type described. (Observe, fifty bungalows cleverly spaced would suffice to make a walking-tour round Ireland a possibility—at least for a good walker. One would have to scatter one's hostels somewhat more liberally to serve small boys). One contemplates hundreds of young men and boys spending their holidays, as thousands of young Germans and Austrians do, on the tramp, bathing daily in the cool, green waves (for, when all is said and done, no mountains, however majestic, can ever quite replace the sea), filling their lungs with pure air from the great open spaces, feeding their minds with lovely scenery, coming home stronger, browner, cleaner in mind and soul after the days spent out under God's free sky. A new source of healthy pleasure opened to the multitude, a new possibility of friendly contact between young men of all ranks and stations, a new lever towards the overthrowing of class pride! The dream of a dreamer? Well, in Germany and Austria the dream has long since come true.

D. Donnelly

CHRONICLE

The American Catholic Historical Association

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

Over here in the United States our various learned societies take occasion of the Christmas vacation time to hold their annual meetings. The membership in these various societies has now become so numerous that it is impossible for them all to meet in the same city with comfort except perhaps in New York; so two different cities are chosen. This year the scientific societies, the American Association for the Advancement of Science (which has some 40,000 members) and its affiliated bodies, met in Cleveland, with an attendance of about 20,000, so that it is easy to understand why the societies that are not scientific meet elsewhere. Large rooms have to be provided for the various sections of the Association. Usually the buildings of the university in the town where the meeting is held provide the necessary accommodation.

Besides this group of scientific societies there is a meeting always during the Christmas vacation of the historical societies of the country. The most important of these is the American Historical Association; but each year eight other historical societies meet at the same time and in the same place—namely, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agriculture History Society, the National Council for Social Studies, the American Society of Church History, the Conference of Historical Societies, the History of Science Society, the Medieval Academy and the *American Catholic Historical Association*. The meeting of all these societies together brings with it quite an acquaintanceship between the scholars who are working in similar fields of historical investigation, even though they may be working from entirely different points of view and from very different sides of the religious barriers. As the principal purpose of all is the attainment of historical truth, which is extremely difficult to reach in many cases, this purpose will naturally be better secured by the association of the various workers during the annual meeting, even though this association may not be very close.

The American Catholic Historical Association was founded in December 1919. Consequently the annual meeting held on 28-31 December 1930 was the eleventh, and it was the best attended meeting held so far. A room capable of seating nearly 300 people was always well filled. Boston is likely to be much

more interested in such events than most of the other cities of the country, and a great many teachers (who are free during the Christmas vacation) attended the meeting. There were a number of priests, several score, and a good sprinkling of nuns, wearing quite different habits and some of them coming from a distance outside of Boston. The Cardinal Archbishop of Boston showed his deep interest in the meeting by his attendance at the first session and by a substantial contribution to the work of the association. The Mayor of Boston, Hon. James Curley, attended the closing session and presented the association with a gavel duly inscribed and made out of one of the newel posts of Faneuil Hall, which is usually spoken of as the cradle of American liberty. A brass plate on the gavel chronicled the occasion, the source of the wood and the association. Three other such gavels have been presented during the current year, which is the tercentenary of the founding of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, to societies that have met in the Massachusetts capital, Boston. Altogether some five hundred societies have taken advantage of the tercentenary to hold their meetings in Boston.

Among the papers of special interest read at the meeting was one by Rev. John E. Sexton, D.D., Professor of Church History at St. John's Diocesan Seminary, Boston. The subject was "The Birthplace of St. Patrick: An Essay in Textual Criticism." Dr. Sexton, rejecting Scotland, England and Gaul as the birthplace of St. Patrick, sets up the claim that he was born just outside of Rome. Another Irish paper was that by Mr. James F. Kenney, PH.D., Director of Historical Research and Publicity, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. His subject was "Early Irish Church History as a Field of Research for American Students."

Probably the two most important papers from an historical standpoint were those by Dr. J. D. M. Ford, Smith Professor of French and Spanish in Harvard University, and by Dr. Edward K. Rand, Professor of Medieval History in the same University. Professor Ford, whose subject was "The Saint's Life in the Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages," pointed out how much of real literary value there was not only in the early versified lives of saints but also in the subsequent prose lives—of which many, unfortunately, still remain in manuscript, although thanks to the Bollandists they are gradually being made available to the world. Professor Rand's paper, "A Romantic Approach to the Middle Ages," was a very scholarly but also a very genial paper, in which he paid his respects to Dr. Coulton and emphasized how much bigotry blinded this scholar to the realities of medieval history.

Professor Rand is not himself a Catholic, though he is a very High Church Anglican, but for many years he has been deeply interested in the Middle Ages and has thoroughly entered into their spirit.

Members of the American Catholic Historical Association take advantage of the meetings held at the same time as their own to listen to some of the discussions in the other associations. For instance there were a number of Catholics present at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History on the question whether the series of religious events which occurred in Germany in the early sixteenth century should be called the Protestant "revolt" or "reformation." Though no Catholics took part in the discussion, there seemed to be a majority in favour of the term "revolt" or "revolution" rather than "reformation."

In the joint meeting of the History of Science Society and the Medieval Academy there was an extremely interesting discussion of the proposal to print a corpus of medieval scientific literature. It was proposed that this should be printed in Latin, with an introduction and notes that would serve to make the real understanding of the meaning of the old Latin terms available for all those who were acquainted with classical Latin. The idea is to find scholars who will do the work. It will be extremely costly and time-taking. It is hoped to get one or more American millionaires to finance at least the beginning of it; the societies are ready to face the problem of the time demanded.

When the author of the prospectus of the proposed corpus was asked how long it would take, he said that we might expect to have made a good start by the year 2031. The Bollandists, he pointed out, were engaged for nearly 300 years in doing a similar work for the lives of the saints, though unfortunately they had been harassed and interrupted by disturbing political incidents. At the present time they are about three-quarters of the way through the *Acta Sanctorum*, so that the corpus of medieval scientific literature might take a little less time than that.

It is proposed to reprint the encyclopedias of Vincent of Beauvais and of Bartholomeus Anglicus, because of Vincent the only trustworthy edition is the inaccessible incunabulum of 1485 in two great folio volumes, while the old editions of Bartholomew are scarce and need to be revised from good manuscript copies. Other encyclopedists to be included are Thomas of Cantimpré (Cantimpratus), whose work has never been printed, and Dominicus Bandinus of Arrezzo, also unprinted; but un-

fortunately some portions of the latter's *Fons memorabilium universi* are now lost. Professor Lynn Thorndike, who has had the work in charge up to this time, named altogether 164 authors who had written on scientific subjects in the Middle Ages and whose works ought to be printed as soon as possible for the benefit of scholars. This list did not include the writers on medicine.

When men are willing to face a work whose foundations will take a hundred years to lay, they must be very much interested in the subject. That subject is science in the Middle Ages, and it has been the custom to say that the scholars of the Middle Ages made no valuable contribution to science. Yet here is the greatest task of scholarship ever proposed in America, and its subject is medieval science. There is no doubt that profound interest in the project has been awakened. At last men have come to recognize that the way to know something about the Middle Ages is to go back and study the documents that were written at that time. Even in science there are a great many things that anticipate what are supposed to be very modern discoveries or inventions. There is not a single century during the Middle Ages when there is not a mention of anesthesia for setting patients to sleep while undergoing an operation. There is a mention of that in an Irish herbarium of the twelfth century ; and Hilary of Poitiers, writing about the Trinity (358 A.D.), introduces a description of anesthesia in which a limb may be cut off and the patient not feel the slightest pain.

The outgoing president of the American Historical Association always makes his annual address at a dinner on the last evening of the meeting at which members of all the associations are present as guests. The address this year was delivered by Evarts Boutell Greene, Professor of History in Columbia University, who took for subject the history of religious toleration in America. The subject was treated with the greatest objectivity, but the retiring president made it very clear that, in spite of over one hundred and fifty years of religious toleration in America, there was still a great deal of bigotry and intolerance in the minds of many of our citizens—especially with regard to Catholicity. He noted the rise and fall of Americanism and Know-Nothingism and A. P. A.-ism and Ku Klux Klanism, but he dwelt particularly on the fact that, in the last election for president of the United States, Protestant intolerance had quite unexpectedly played an important role. It was evident that even in the minds of many supposedly educated people there was still a bitter feeling of intolerance with regard to Catholicity.

JAMES J. WALSH

REVIEWS

Apologetics

WHY I $\frac{AM}{AM\ NOT}$ *A CATHOLIC.* By Archbishop Goodier, S.J., Father Ronald Knox, C. C. Martindale, S.J., Hilaire Belloc, Sheila Kaye-Smith, The Bishop of Gloucester, Professor A. E. Taylor, Prof. H. C. Goudge, D.D., Rev. W. E. Orchard, D.D., Principal John Oman, D.D. London: Cassell. 1931. pp. 256. 3s. 6d.

THIS is emphatically a book of to-day. It could hardly have appeared ten years ago—certainly not twenty. Acerbity had to disappear from religious controversy before a full-dress theological debate of this kind could be staged under the *Nihil Obstat* of Westminister archdiocese. The ten papers, each of about 5,000 words, are unpolemical personal documents, reflecting Catholic and non-Catholic mentality in that England of to-day which may in any true sense be still styled Christian.

As to the value of the contributions, opinions will necessarily differ, though the subjective sincerity of all the writers and their zeal for the emergence of truth are not in question. They invite detailed examination. But it is obviously impossible in a short review to traverse the ground covered by ten authors, each with his own peculiar point of view. I must content myself with recording a few personal impressions.

First of all I found the only lady contributor the most interesting of all. Sheila Kaye-Smith gives a very able and wholly delicious account of her own spiritual Odyssey. Like Fr. Vernon, she is one of the many millions who have succumbed to the spell of S. Thérèse of Lisieux. But even before that event she had embraced the simulacrum of Catholicism in the Church of England, until she discovered that it was not Catholicism at all, but the old Protestant system of private judgment in action. Her description of what is known as Anglo-Catholicism is most illuminating; and her plea to Catholic controversialists to treat it with sympathetic understanding should not fall on deaf ears.

Father Ronald Knox's paper appears the most convincing. One would call it unanswerable, if the reading of the opposing views did not show that, without a common logical background, no argument is unanswerable. The lesson of this work is that the Reformation has given us not only divergent creeds, but divergent reasoning processes. Hence it may be that a non-Catholic reader will find the Bishop of Gloucester more telling in his rejection of Papal claims, though to me he seems very inconclusive.

Similarly Professor Taylor's sense of loyalty to the Church of England cannot but appear perverted to an outsider; for surely the prior question is: What are the credentials of this body? And what are its relations to the Church of Christ? The loyalty he extols so much now would have made him a martyr under Henry VIII or Elizabeth.

Professor Goudge writes: "That the Church is divided is to me an obvious fact; and I have not expected to find the full truth in any part of it, still less to attain it myself. Whether the Church of Rome is on the whole superior to the Church of England is a question which interests me little, since I should not join it even if I thought it were." A reader of Catholic upbringing is bewildered by such a statement. The Church was certainly not meant to be divided; and yet it must ever remain so if the logic of this author prevails.

But Principal Oman excels all others in the untrammelled individualism that he propounds. For him the purpose of God would seem to be that each soul should work out its own Credo. A sacerdotal hierarchy had no place in the original plan of Jesus. And His purpose is not frustrated by error, but only by insincerity. Yet what about His own words: "Whoso shall believe and be baptised shall be saved, whoso shall not believe shall be condemned"? This supposes something definite and clear to be believed by all, and the rule of faith is given in the words: "He that heareth you, heareth me."

Dr. Orchard's position is the most singular of any here expounded. In belief the most Roman of these non-Romans, he is in attitude the most Protestant; for he forms a little community of one, and considers that in this position of isolation he is best placed for doing the work God wishes him to do. This exactly verifies Sheila Kaye-Smith's analysis of Anglo-Catholicism.

In conclusion I am reminded of the story told of an Irish girl who, after seeing the condition of women in the Somali village at the last Dublin exhibition, was heard to exclaim: "Thank God, I was born at home." Similarly a Catholic, on laying down this interesting little volume, can hardly help exclaiming: "Thank God, I was born at home." P. J. Gannon.

PLAIN REASONS FOR BEING A CATHOLIC. By Rev. Albert Power, S.J. New York: Pustet. 1929. $2.00 net.

THE number of books of what we may call popular apologetics that is being produced at present is quite remarkable; and if it be true that the demand creates the supply, it is an encouraging

sign of the times; for it shows that there is a spirit of enquiry abroad, a desire for knowledge about the Church and her claims. If, on the other hand, it is the supply that creates the demand, it is likewise an encouraging sign; for it shows that Catholics are alive to the fact that the Gospel must be preached, no less to the neo-pagans of our western civilisation than to the heathen Chinee.

Here we have an admirable little volume, which was born in Australia but presented to the world in America. Father Power is an excellent apologist for the man in the street. Of the soundest commonsense his book is all compact. His manner of writing is direct, clear, convincing, as one writes who has examined carefully both sides of a question and has come to a conclusion, not rashly but inevitably. "Personally," he writes, "I may say that few things have strengthened my faith so much as reading books written against the Church of Rome. The attacks therein contained are often so futile that they help to show forth the strength of the Church's position which they are meant to demolish."

Another advantage of this book is that it makes no large demands on the scholarship of the reader. The facts discussed are within the reach of all, and the arguments drawn from them require no training in the schools for their appreciation. With the wide public for whom the book is clearly meant it will gain thereby in force and appeal.

We have said that Father Power is an excellent apologist for the man in the street. What a pity it was not possible to publish his book at a price more suited to the purse of that rather impecunious person. **T. A. J.**

Archaeology

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ROMAN BRITAIN. By R. G. Collingwood, M.A. London: Methuen. 1930. 16s. net.

The manner of writing, not less than the number, of recent archaeological publications seems to indicate a greatly increasing public interest in archaeology. Within prudent limits the appeal of archaeologists to "the general reader" is sound and commendable. Now and then, and not often enough, the public is warned against the oldfashioned collectors of "antiquities," enemies rather than friends to a knowledge of antiquity. Their offence consisted mainly in this, that they separated the thing they treasured from its history. The scientific archaeologist may fall into the same mistake. There is no boundary between

history and archaeology. Mr. Collingwood, in the introduction to *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, writes as though such a boundary existed and as though there were some virtue in maintaining it. The book, he says " is strictly a handbook of archaeology, not an history " (do they say " an history " in Oxford ?) and he goes on to speak of " the strictly archaeological aspect " of the material. Fortunately he is not to be taken at his word ; he does not write at all like a glass-case antiquarian. Nevertheless, his book would have gained, and any future edition of it will gain, by two easily made additions : a brief summary of the history of Roman Britain so far as may be relevant to an understanding of the present content, and a map or a set of maps showing the position of the roads, camps, fortresses and forts, signal-stations and lighthouses, and towns, the subjects of the first six chapters, and of the native settlements described in Chapter X.

Archaeology indeed supplies more of the history of Roman Britain than can be gathered from all the ancient historians. The " strictly archaeological material " explains better than they how bravely and how long the Britons resisted conquest, and what military dispositions were necessary after conquest to hold them in subjection. Its account of towns and villas, of temples and tombs, and of Roman influence on British arts and crafts, gives some understanding of the life of the Britons under Roman rule, where hardly anything is to be learned from the strictly historical historians. This handbook, presenting in a readable form, with plenty of pictures and plans, the chief results of archaeological study, will help every reader to form an instructed view of the meaning of Roman Britain. By those who are interested in the early history of Ireland such a view cannot well be neglected. Even Roman militarism had its effects in Ireland. Cardinal MacRory has just reminded us that next year will bring us, along with the Eucharistic Congress, the centenary of the greatest event in Irish history. St. Patrick was a Briton, brought up under the Roman régime, son of a decurion, holding his Roman citizenship in honour. His father Calpurnius, he writes, occupied a " villula," and had a number of manservants and womanservants in his employ. On page 117 of Mr. Collingwood's book will be seen a plan in outline, and on page 124 a block-plan indicating the outbuildings, of a residence such as " villula " would imply, the site having been found and explored at Ely, just outside Cardiff, in a region of which Rhys and Bury thought that St. Patrick might have been a native.

E. M. N.

Biography

JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS UND SEINE ZEIT. Von P. Chrysostomus Baur, O.S.B. 2 Vols. Munich: Max Hueber. 1930. M 22.50.

SAINT GREGOIRE DE NAZIANZE ET SON TEMPS. Par E. Fleury. Paris: Beauchesne. 1930. 54 francs.

THESE two works, the first written as a labour of love by a learned Benedictine, the second appearing in a series of "Études de Théologie Historique" published by the Institut Catholique in Paris, are probably the most complete monographs ever devoted to their respective subjects. As there was considerable similarity between the two Saints, who were nearly contemporaries, so, allowing for national differences of style, there is great likeness between their biographies.

St. Gregory would have lent himself the better of the two to the modern manner of treatment. His trials and vicissitudes, while severe, were in part the inevitable result of his character. Dr. Fleury is far from attempting to psychologise his subject, but he lets us see clearly that the saint's temperament and training were not without their influence on his misfortunes. St. John Chrysostom, on the other hand, with less of the artist in his composition, was far more the subject of a cruel destiny which seemed determined to overwhelm him in spite of his blamelessness. His biographer has thus a freer field for eulogy, and gives us a most attractive picture painted in great detail on a vast canvas. Perhaps, indeed, the one fault that may be urged against both books is that they are a trifle over-complete for quick reading, but their permanent usefulness should be all the greater.

Most English-speaking students are familiar with the lives of the two saints from the eloquent chapters of Newman's "Historical Sketches." Both are of great interest to the historian as well as to the seeker after edification. St. Gregory, whose life falls between 325 and 390 A.D., was the older of the two, and forms the third of a brilliant trio with the two Cappadocian brothers, SS. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, the one a great legislator and organiser, the other a subtle philosopher and theologian. Apart from his extremely attractive character and the great dogmatic importance of his writings, St. Gregory of Nazianzus has the further interest that he remained all his life a lover of early Greek literature, and is probably the most finished stylist among the Greek Fathers. He was a contemporary in the schools of rhetoric at Athens of Basil and of the future Emperor and

Apostate Julian. Of the first he remained the fast friend, in spite of difficulties due to dissimilarity of character; his funeral oration for Basil is one of his most frequently-read works. Of the second he was to become the fierce opponent, and his discourses against Julian, published after the death of the Emperor, meet with a little criticism at Dr. Fleury's hands. The character and history of the Apostate himself are treated with some fullness in the book, which gives the reader a very vivid impression of the complicated religious and social conditions of the fourth century.

St. John of Antioch, the most eloquent preacher of antiquity, whose sermons, as his biographer notes, are still capable of being used almost unaltered to-day, was born probably in the year 354, and died in exile, after having been Patriarch of Constantinople, in 407. His early years were full of fruitful and peaceful activity in his native city, his later of tragic, if glorious, misfortune, in the capital of the East, where Gregory had already found conditions too difficult for himself. His literary activity, which was immense, differed rather remarkably from that of Gregory. A favourite pupil of the renowned pagan professor of oratory, Libanius, he was himself a peerless master of style, but it was all his own. He seems to have despised pagan literature, yet he wrote in what one of the best modern judges has described as the purest Attic. In him the ancient tradition of eloquence was transfused by a great personality into something new, more original, and to later ages more pleasing than the finest art of his predecessors. Dr. Baur has devoted immense pains to his task, and has produced a most searching account of every aspect of the Saint's work and genius. His bibliography and commentary on individual writings is practically exhaustive, and he has thrown new light on much that was previously obscure. An instance is the work on education, which has only recently been fully recognised as the earliest treatment of the subject by a Christian writer. This life of St. John Chrysostom will be invaluable to all those interested in patristic study, and not less so to students of Roman history and Greek literature. M. T.

WHITE HORSEMEN. By Mrs. Thomas Concannon. London: Sands. 1930. 2s. net.

This is a timely book. It is an account of the eight Jesuit Martyrs of Canada canonised last year. Their story has a unity of significance and of incident, even of time—for they all landed and died between 1630 and 1650—that fits it for the plot of a tragedy.

And when one considers their force and diversity of character, the heroic steadfastness with which they remained when the civil government of Frame had abandoned them, their ghastly tortures at the hands of the Indians, one wonders why they have not yet found a dramatist.

Mrs. Concannon tells the story gracefully and with feeling. She has acquired accurate knowledge of the facts, doubtless from the best source—the contemporary Jesuit *Relations*. Sometimes she may be charged with additions to the facts from her own fancy (put forward, of course, only as conjectual reconstructions). Her account of St. Isaac Jogues' visit to the Breton cottage has verisimilitude certainly, but have all its circumstances got authority ? The account of St. Noel Chabanel's death is not in the *Relations* (if my memory serves) ; doubtless the traditional story is well-founded, but one would like to have the evidence for the murderer's confession and for his veracity as a witness even against himself. Then Mrs. Concannon's theory that St. Antoine Daniel was descended from the O'Donnells has no positive proof whatever. Against it is the fact that he was born before the Flight of the Earls, and it is *a priori* improbable that many, if any, of the family emigrated before them. Her reasons for her theory prove, at most, its bare possibility. But it must be said again that she does not distort the facts and gives a true and readable account of the glorious tragedy. And history has not in all its pages a tale so fit to draw children from play and old men from the chimney-corner. A. L.

UN ANIMATEUR DE LA JEUNESSE AU XIIIe SIECLE. Par Marguérite Aron. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1930. 20 fr.

ST. DOMINIC died in the summer of 1221—within a few years of the first attempt to found a new religious Order consciously planned to capture the intellect of Mediaeval Europe. Those who remember the astonishing rapidity with which Dominican convents were opened at all the great centres of university life, and the apparent ease with which the Preachers found themselves from the first at the head of a movement which culminates in the work of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, must often have wondered who were the men raised up by God to continue the Founder's work.

Here is a short but well documented biography of the Saint's immediate successor, Blessed Jordan of Saxony. His career is in many ways as great a riddle as that of the Order to which

he belonged, and which he was so soon called to govern. He was received at Paris as a novice by St. Dominic's fellow-worker, Master Reginald, in 1219; three years later we find him Master General of the new Order; seventeen years later he dies, having opened innumerable convents of the Preachers and having received as novices many of the most brilliant students of his day. How did a career so brief make such great results possible? To that question no certain answer can be given, unless an answer be first found to yet another riddle. Is Master Jordan of Saxony to be identified with Master Jordan Nemorarius, greatest of the mathematicians and physicists of his day, forerunner of Albert the Great, perhaps even of the great Leonardo himself? Mlle. Aron argues for the identification, and finds in the prestige of the great Master the secret of Blessed Jordan's astonishing successes in the world of the Universities. On her side can be cited many well-known scholars, and especially (for nationality counts even in the history of mathematics) many German scholars. Against her thesis must be cited the great name of Denifle, who hotly denied the proposed identification more than forty years ago. Father Mandonnet, who writes a short introduction to this biography, maintains a prudent reserve. According as one accepts or rejects this thesis, must be the judgment on the value of Mlle. Aron's scientific handling of her material.

But apart from these disputed questions, a biography of one who stood at the head of the new Order of Preachers, and who passed most of his life in the chief centres of academic thought in the thirteenth century, must be full of interest, and readers of this volume will bring many memories away. Apart from Blessed Jordan's success with the university students of his day (and he seems to have led them whither he willed), there is the series of letters which passed between the Master General and the Dominican Sister, Blessed Diana of Andalo. Father Mandonnet claims these letters as the first example of continuous spiritual direction of a woman by a theologian: has he forgotten St. Jerome? None the less the letters are of real interest in themselves, and Father Mandonnet is right in saying that this activity of the learned and saintly Dominican marks a date in the history of ascetical literature. He was not the last theologian to find a receptive disciple in one whom he addresses as "my daughter in the fear of the Father, my sister in the adoption of the Son, my well-beloved in the love of the Holy Ghost, my comrade in the religious life."

A. G.

Education

THE TRAINING OF THE WILL. By Johann Lindworsky, S.J., Professor at the University of Cologne. Translation by Steiner and FitzPatrick. No. 4., Marquette University Series. Marquette : Bruce Publishing Co. 1930. Pp. 226.

This entirely clear and well-ordered compendium on the nature and use of the will is certain to be of great service in the training of teachers no less than in the education of pupils at all stages. It is a blend of the *philosophia perennis* with modern experimental research and results, but it is far more than a mere combination of these two streams of knowledge. Dr. Lindworsky presents his independent judgment on many issues, and not on the modern investigations alone. The views of the traditional philosophy on the position of volition habits, for instance, includes matter that elicits the assertion that " repeated activity does not increase power " of the will (p. 81), just as " training does not produce stronger will-power." On the authority of Michotte (pp. 34-38), the Valuation of Motives (Sensation ; Reason types) is the basic source of power to put the will in motion. The result appears to be (p. 76) a depreciation of the significance of habit-formation as such a source, and even the intensity of resolution is affirmed to be in itself of little value.

The effort of the editor and joint-translator, Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick of Marquette University, to fuse Dr. Lindworsky's views with those of Mausbach, (p. 10 : cp. pp. 82-84) is hardly successful, as Mausbach clearly assigns to training and practice an efficacy which Dr. Lindworsky precludes. It would appear that there is no such antithesis between general and particular habit formation as he would find in the evolution of Scholastic opinion. They are necessary, both of them ; and are essentially interlocked in multiple ways. Even if, with the writer, Michotte's position regarding Values of Motives is accepted, it is not easy to see why Valuation may not have its incidence on habit as well as on will-power, and directly reinforce the latter and the former. The total will energy is the combined result of naked will-power, general habituation, special habituation. Dr. Lindworsky rightly pays marked and detailed attention to the practical teaching of S. Ignatius in the Spiritual Exercises. The investigation of the special psychological contributions of the general and the particular Examination of Conscience, interacting over a series of years, would elucidate the solution of this vital problem, which ramifies into educational methods in all directions.

A very considerable number of practical deductions are made by Dr. Lindworsky in the course of this entirely attractive and simple treatise, which is as stimulating as it is unpretentious. His discussion of the danger from an influential personality in the teacher (p.101) will not fail to elicit comment; so will his finding concerning the disciplinary routine of boarding schools (p. 111), which culminates in the doctrine that "a boarding-school education has become the equivalent of ineffective external drill, which pupils discard as soon as possible." The view could be powerfully illustrated from the sustained and universal tradition and practice of the Jesuit school system, 1545 to 1773; but it would be interesting to have it compared with the results of 1814-1900, especially in France, Spain, Italy and the United States. T. C.

ENGLISH EDUCATION: 1789–1902. By John William Adamson, Emeritus Professor of Education, University of London. Cambridge University Press. 1930. 21s. net.

THIS stately and elaborate, yet most serene and readable exposition of the uncharted prairies of education in England is all the more useful and reliable because it happily does not achieve its purpose as stated in Dr. Adamson's Preface. "The stages of development," he writes, "become most evident when surveyed from the side of administration," and "hence the frequent reference to machinery." But on the preceding leaf the penultimate chapter of the whole seventeen is headed, and with justice, "Administrative Muddle." That term is still valid: it has been even reinforced by the administrative events of the months that have passed since Dr. Adamson's highly serviceable volume appeared. There is total disparity of views and doctrines, of standards and processes of higher education, between the older and the newer English Universities. There is a similar cleavage between what is termed Public School Education and Secondary Education, meaning by this latter term the new or newly-reorganised secondary schools connected with the Board of Education. There are dual inspectorates, dual systems—one for every County and County Borough—of public administration. There are large, unknown and unexplored areas in the school world. What passes as classical education in England, to take one example on the intellectual side, is a gnarled and toughened distortion of all European humanism. The utter lack of principle, system, and aims could be illustrated from many of Dr. Adamson's pages. It will suffice to mention his paragraph on Edward Thring, as bold

and arbitrary a pirate on the pedagogic seas as was Hawkins on the Spanish main. There is no law or order emergent from these most interesting if individual chapters, though each is well planned and well written.

Dr. Adamson has thus rendered a great service to the explorer, even to the student. While there is perhaps too much of Blue Book in all its forms, he does contribute constantly pleasant reflections, often of a disillusioning character, as those which explain the somewhat casual, even ignoble origins of the monitorial and fagging systems of the so-called public schools. Study of Dr. Adamson's well-filled pages, one may add, will be enhanced if the volumes of Mr. Wilkins on the English Endowed Schools, of Mgr. Barnes on Catholic schools, and of J. L. and Barbara Hammond on the Chartist Period, 1832-1852, are kept in concurrent use. T. C.

Fiction

IRISH IRONIES. By "An Philibín." Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1930. Pp. 96.

THESE short stories, all describing life in Dublin, are full of grim power. Their themes are uniformly depressing, the struggling dramatist dying at the moment when the call of "Author" comes, the eccentric scholar brooding over the dream-house where he lives in imagination with the girl who has jilted him, the middle-aged clerk battered to death by the Black and Tans because of a copy of Plato's Republic found in his pocket, and so on. Yet their gloom is somewhat—I say somewhat—relieved by the sense of pity which the author mercifully directs us to in a quotation from Anatole France on the title-page.

Two features put this slight collection of stories far above most of the painful and ignoble stuff which Irish fiction writers have recently been supplying—for cash—to certain types of English publisher. They are a remarkable felicitousness of descriptive phrase, and above all a happy power of picturing little glimpses of Dublin as we Dubliners know her, not as the aforesaid English publishers want her painted.

Just before taking up "An Philibín's" stories, I had been reading an article on the Dublin newsboy in a recent periodical. In the course of it the writer, who knows Dublin even better than "An Philibín," describes a little scene witnessed in Grafton St. It begins after the manner of *Irish Ironies:* gloomy sky, pitiless rain, mud underfoot, two newsboys, unkempt, starved, in rags. Then one of them suddenly shouts to the other. "Hi Mickey,

did you see the rainbow?" "An Philibín's" stories are so striking that I, for one, hope that he will some day give us a full-length novel of Dublin life, of the same high quality. But I also hope that when he does, he will more often let his characters look up from the muddy streets and see the rainbow. F. McG.

ANNETTE AND PHILIBERT. By Henri Bordeaux. Translated by the Benedictines of Teignmouth. London: Sands. 1931. 5s. net.

THE word "delightful" on the jacket of a book about children is dangerous. It prepares one for a painful dose of that self-conscious naïveté that dogs the footsteps of unsuccessful amateurs of the Christopher Robin school. However, M. Bordeaux' name is vastly reassuring, and we are not disappointed. His story, in spite of the jacket, is really delightful. Annette and Philibert were two little Savoyards who got mixed up in their heads a sceptical teacher's lesson on the Children's Crusade and their good Curé's description of a pilgrimage of French children which was being organised to go to Rome, and receive Holy Communion at the hands of Pius the Tenth. Annette and Philibert set off at the head of their forty-four school companions to cross the Mount Cenis road on foot and see the Pope themselves. After many adventures the two leaders alone actually got to Rome, and received their First Communion from the Pope.

The forty-four little pilgrims are all wonderfully living, and so are the grown-ups in the background, Father Laloze, who spent his free time touching up the Seven Deadly Sins on the wall of his church, Uncle Thomas, who was a smuggler, the dread of the police, and ended by becoming a Capuchin, and the free-thinking schoolmaster, who began to think freely for the first time when he found himself in Rome looking for his lost pupils.

The story is full of little quaint Gallic touches, most of which fortunately have not suffered in translation. Fat Steenie, the miller's little boy (who is always asking where the pilgrims will have supper), finally deserts. His little sister Céline elects to go on. Steenie appeals piteously to her not to desert him. "But Céline put out her tongue at him. She had chosen the Better Part." The scene, too, between the good Curé and the empurpled dignitary of St. Peter's who asked him for his celebret could only have been painted by a Frenchman.

On the whole the translation is good. A few words here and there would have been better left in the original French, notably the author's Christian name. The quaint illustrations are in pleasing harmony with the text. M. V.

History

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by S. A. Cook, Litt.D.; F. E. Adcock, M.A.; M. P. Charlesworth, M.A. Vol. VIII. Rome and the Mediterranean (218-133 B.C.). Cambridge: University Press. 1930. 35s. net.

LIKE its predecessor, this eighth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is cosmopolitan in origin. Among the most important sections in the volume, four chapters on Rome and Carthage are by a Cambridge scholar, Mr. B. L. Hallward; three long chapters on Rome and the Hellenistic East are by a French scholar, M. Holleaux; three more on the Bosporan Kingdom, Pergamon, Rhodes and Delos are by a Russian, Professor Rostovtzeff; and two important chapters on Rome and Italy are by the American historian of Rome, Professor Tenney Frank. Add to this a chapter on Spain by Dr. A. Schulten of Erlangen and a chapter on Thrace by Professor Gawril Kazarow of Sofia, and it is plain that the Editors have not felt themselves limited by bounds of race or nationality. And the resulting volume is not only very valuable, but also far more readable than its immediate predecessor.

Mr. Hallward's story is an old story, though many of its minor details have been profoundly modified by modern criticism; and the story, thus newly reconstructed, is here well told. Hannibal is, inevitably, the central figure; it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the splendid audacity of his strategy and his astounding constancy of purpose. Recent criticism, chiefly occupied with the elimination of Livy's patriotic colouring, has made the Carthaginian plan of campaign more intelligible; the old notion of a Hannibal consecrated from boyhood to an eternal and half-rational hatred of Rome, is now modified to the clearer vision of a statesman and general of genius, who gauged his problem exactly and came within an ace of success. None the less, admiration for Hannibal ought not to let us be carried away into an ill-founded admiration for the Carthaginian state. Rome deserved her victory, Carthage her failure. At the end of Mr. Hallward's last chapter on Carthage, Mr. Charlesworth has inserted a few pages of summing up which state the case against Carthage very fairly and very forcibly.

Here is a city that for over four centuries was in closest contact with the Greek world, first in Sicily and Massilia, later in Ptolemaic Alexandria. Her traders, like the Roman *negotiatores*, brought home Greek wares to the shops of Carthage; her generals, like the Roman *imperatores*, brought back as part of their booty some

of the masterpieces of Greek art. Greek must have been spoken freely in Carthage : Greek coins were among the recognised forms of exchange. Yet in all her long history Punic Carthage does not seem to have made a single permanent contribution to human thought or human culture in art or literature or science or religion. Only in the domain of commerce, agriculture and geographical exploration does she seem to have made her mark. Mago's treatise on scientific agriculture and Hanno's account of his voyage down the coasts of Africa are the main documents of Carthaginian literature known to us. Of poetry, drama, philosophy, or religious literature no hint has survived. The one great poet who was certainly born in Carthage—Terentius Afer—was as certainly not of Carthaginian but of Libyan or Numidian origin. It is only four or five centuries later, when a New Carthage has arisen in a land that is dominantly Roman in language and culture, that great names begin to appear : Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Augustine. And they are all essentially Roman. Not the great Fathers of the Church, but the Donatist heretics, are the characteristic figures of Punic Christianity. Is it wholly an accident that they seem inspired by the same fierce nationalism that sustained Hannibal in his heroic but tragic struggle against Rome ? Not that way lay the future of Catholic Europe.

For that is the issue at stake in this century of advancing Romanism and receding—or apparently receding—Hellenism. Those who doubt the vitality of the Hellenistic world should read the three chapters which Professor Rostovtzeff has contributed to this volume on the Bosporan kingdom, the kingdom of Pergamon, and the two commercial cities of Rhodes and Delos. They will find here the record of a civilisation founded on international relations between states whose political principle was the Balance of Power ; they will find Rhodes the creator of a naval law that is essentially international, Rhodes and Delos both centres of international banking and credit ; they will find Greek genius adapting itself to strange surroundings in far-off Crimea, and producing there a school of local painting unrivalled in the technique of its artists ; they will find at Pergamon, the typical kingdom of this new Hellenistic world, a centre of sculpture and architecture, as well as of learning and literary criticism. And Mr. Ashmole's finely written chapter on Hellenistic art shows how daringly the Greek artists of the period reached out to new forms and new conventions that suggest irresistibly the later Italian baroque. Apart from the double series of dedications at

Pergamon, this Hellenistic Age has left to our modern museums some of the most famous statues of the Ancient World : the Victory of Samothrace ; the Laocoon ; the Venus of the Capitol and the Venus of Melos ; the Apollo Belvedere ; and the innumerable naturalistic groups that witness to the eagerness of these later Greek artists to break new ground in a field that had apparently been exhausted by the great masters of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Yet for all this vitality there are soon signs of exhaustion ; the collapse of Hellenistic civilisation was only partly due to the onset of Rome. Eclecticism and mimesis in art are in Hellenistic Greece, as later in Renaissance Italy, the sure signs of declining power. Egypt, for example, was already well on the road to decay before ever Hannibal set foot in Italy ; neither Macedon nor Syria were equal to their responsibilities when the hour of danger came ; the outlying centres of the Greek world, whether in the Crimea or the Far East, were already beginning to lose touch with the centre owing to the constant pressure from without of the barbarian world. Rome was at first reckoned as part of that hostile outer world ; certainly the record of Rome's generals in the East was (with rare exceptions) unworthy of her future. Archimedes is slaughtered in the ruins of Syracuse ; the Achaean hostages in Italy were for long a living witness to *fides Romana ;* Corinth was sacked, and her masterpieces sent as booty to Rome. Yet it is strange to note how the ablest Greek minds of the century are definitely on the side of Rome. Polybius, who had experienced in his own person the faithlessness of the Roman senate ; Panaetius, a citizen of Rhodes, which suffered more than any other Greek city from selfish Roman diplomacy ; Posidonius of Apamea in Syria, who made Rhodes his adopted home, though he—like the other two—had travelled widely through the Mediterranean world : all these are definitely and constantly on the side of Rome.

A. G.

LA REFORME EN ANGLETERRE. I. *Le Schisme Anglican. Henri VIII* (1509-1547). Par G. Constant. Paris : Perrin. 1930. Pp. 777. 80 fr.

THERE are few periods of history for which such an abundant supply of contemporary records exists as the reign of Henry VIII. The object of the present work, by the learned fellow of the University of Liverpool and professor of the Institut Catholique of Paris, is to enable French readers to form precise ideas about the so-called Reformation in England. The author has two classes

of readers in mind, the ordinary reader and the serious student, and he has arranged his work to meet the needs of both. In the first part (pp. 1-282) the story is told in clear and vigorous language, sometimes rising to a high pitch of eloquence. The flowing style may well lead the reader to overlook the vast learning it presupposes. Every sentence is a thesis, for the proof of which one must turn to the second part of the book where the authority for every statement is given and discussed (pp. 283-777). The matter is divided in the first part into eight chapters, in which the author reviews (1) the beginnings and causes of the schism; (2) the divorce question and the breach with Rome; (3) royal supremacy and the consummation of the schism; (4) the suppression of the monasteries; (5) the defenders of Catholic unity; (6) the advanced schismatics; (7) the moderate schismatics; and (8) the dogma of the Church of England under Henry VIII.

Speaking generally, we may say that the author maintains a high level of scholarship throughout. The first two chapters are to some extent an exception. The effect of nationalism and humanism in bringing about the Reformation is exaggerated, and the author fails to distinguish clearly the accidental and the essential, in other words, he does not distinguish clearly between the spirit of nationalism and humanism *in se* and the anti-religious spirit, derived from a different source, with which certain nationalists and humanists were imbued. Again, he minimises the influence of Henry in causing the religious revolution. Once the royal will was known, self-seekers were encouraged to take the sure path of insinuating themselves into Henry's favour by attacking the Holy See, while on the other hand the fear of offending the king and falling a victim to his tyrannical cruelty was enough to deter the ordinary man from giving expression to his innermost beliefs.

The consideration of the three main parties involved in the struggle introduces a series of brilliant character studies: first, of the defenders of Catholic unity, Fisher, More, and Pole (pp. 116-73); secondly of the advanced or Protestant party, Cromwell, Cranmer and their friends (pp. 174-212); and thirdly, of the Henrician bishops, Gardiner, Stokesley, Bonner, and Tunstall (213-47). This is undoubtedly the best part of the work, and it is written calmly and impartially. The chapter on the Henrician bishops is the most instructive for the right understanding of the mental attitude of those who favoured the divorce and the royal supremacy, but who, while thus sacrificing one dogma, attempted to maintain the rest of the dogmatic teaching

of the Catholic Church against the assaults of the Protestant party—" *de sorte qu'ils furent à la fois et les fauteurs du schisme et les gardiens de l'orthodoxie* " (p. 216). The theological arguments by which Gardiner tried to defend his position, and the various distinctions by which others tried to justify themselves before the bar of conscience, enable us to understand the motives of similar temporisers in Ireland, of whom there were so many. How the eyes of the Henricians were gradually opened, after Henry's death, by the progress of Protestantism under Edward VI and Elizabeth until they found themselves forced back by conscience to the Church they had deserted, is well described : " *Ils conclurent que n'être pas romain équivalait à n'être pas catholique : et ils préférèrent mourir en prison. Les Henriciens avaient été schismatiques, mais ils étaient restés de cœur catholiques, et la plupart finirent en communion avec Rome* " (p. 247).

In the chapter on the dogma of the Church of England under Henry VIII, M. Constant studies the relation of Henry's Ten Articles of 1536 with the Articles of Christian Doctrine discussed that year at Wittenberg in a mixed assembly of English and Lutheran reformers. Of these Wittenberg Articles, discovered in the Archives of Weimar in 1905, M. Constant says : " *Les historiens anglais semblent encore les ignorer* " (p. 255), and he points out that, while Henry made certain apparent concessions to Lutheran feelings, his Ten Articles were fundamentally anti-Lutheran and capable of an orthodox interpretation.

An additional merit of the work is that the author draws largely on the French literature of those days, and knows how to enliven his pages with extracts from letters, anecdotes, titbits of contemporary gossip, songs and ballads, not easily procurable anywhere else. As a guide through a bewildering maze of documents, this book, written by a scholar of high competence, should prove invaluable to every earnest student of the Reformation in England.

JOHN MACERLEAN

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1864-1878). By J. B. Bury, D.Litt., LL.D. Edited, with a Memoir, by the Rev. R. H. Murray, Litt.D. London : Macmillan. 1930. 10s. net.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL. By Dom Cuthbert Butler. London : Longmans. 1930. Two volumes. 25s. net.

A GREAT disservice has been done to Professor Bury's memory by the publication of the above volume. The lectures which it contains were delivered as long ago as 1908 to a select audience

at Cambridge and were not then offered in book form to the public. Their author, we may charitably assume, was anxious to subject them to thorough revision before exposing them to the critical gaze of the learned world. In the sequel, however, the *ultima lima* was either neglected or forgotten, and the lectures, in their original shape, were found buried among the Professor's papers at his death. They are published now, we understand, without correction of any kind, or the change even of a comma.

What relation a small book of 175 octavo pages can bear to the title *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* the reader is left to speculate. As a matter of fact the " history " of the papacy is confined to the seven years, 1864-71, and even for these few years it is absurdly incomplete, since it focuses attention solely on the Syllabus and the Vatican Council. What would be said of a writer who said something of Bismarck's three wars (which fit exactly within the same period) and labelled the result " History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century " ?

Professor Bury's temperament and his principles were such that his description of papal doings in any epoch was certain to be a caricature. Least of all could he write the history of the papacy in the nineteenth century, an age that lay notoriously outside the range of his special studies. To state, as the editor does, that " he was as much at home in the world of the Vatican as he was in the world of Constantinople " is to speak nonsense. Hardly a page of his work is free from minor errors, due to utter unfamiliarity with the subject which he is discussing. It is not too much to say that he had not read a tenth of the relevant literature which bears upon the Syllabus ; yet he passes judgment on that document as confidently as if he, alone among mortals, enjoyed infallibility in its exposition. Dealing with the Vatican Council, he has nothing new to offer. His lectures are a re-hash of the material issued by hostile critics (chiefly Friedrich, Döllinger and Lord Acton) while the Council was in session. Commonsense, not to speak of the elementary rules of historical criticism, might have counselled prudence in the use of these extravagant and generally fanatical reports, but Professor Bury accepts them unhesitatingly. An advantage of this credulity is that the book makes piquant reading ; a disadvantage is that the book is miscalled history.

It is a pleasure to turn from a work which does so little credit to Professor Bury's fine powers to the history of the Council compiled by Dom Cuthbert Butler. The venerable Benedictine scholar utilized two sources of immense value which were not

within Bury's reach—one the *Acta* of the Council published in full within the past few years ; the second Ullathorne's correspondence, a running commentary on events from the first session to the last, written by a man of shrewd judgment and independent mind, who himself was a member of the Council. Every other source, whether friendly, independent or hostile, is likewise used. Each incident can thus be seen against its proper background and in its right light. A summary reference to the main points of interest is all that can here be given.

The machinery of the Council, against which Bury inveighs so unreservedly, was fixed by Hefele, a leader among the minority bishops. Only when the Fathers had gathered were the bad acoustic qualities of the Council hall discovered, and every effort was then made to provide a remedy. Gallicanism was dead when the Council met, nor was it taught by any Father, with the possible exception of one. Dupanloup himself held that infallibility was the true doctrine. Real trouble was caused only by busybodies outside the Council, especially by French journalists of the neo-Ultramontane school, who accused, insulted, and calumniated their brethren in the faith almost as if they were schismatics and heretics. Time, it is pleasing to note, brought its revenges. In April, 1929, a religious celebration took place in Paris in memory of the great French Catholic Liberals, and Pius XI was specially represented.

Dom Butler readily admits that Manning and his friends were over-zealous in their efforts for definition, and he points out that the only result of this was to make the passage of the dogmatic decrees more difficult. Earlier Councils dealt with particular heresies ; the Vatican Council dealt with the foundations of belief against which the attacks of unbelievers were then commonly levelled. Newman's view, that it was improper for the Council to express itself on such issues, must be regarded as mistaken ; but to his honour it must be added that there was hardly any other question debated at the day in which time has not proved that his judgment was correct.

Discussion at the Council was at all times free ; the Pope's interference, when it did take place, was unnecessary, and had no vital effect on the final decisions. Those who opposed as well as those who favoured the definition, were advanced impartially to higher dignities, including the cardinalate. Dignity, courtesy, good-temper, restraint marked the proceedings of the Council. If here and there human passions appeared, they shrink into very petty dimensions indeed when compared with the deep, abiding, overwhelming love for truth which distinguished the assembled Fathers.

J. R.

IRISH VISIONS OF THE OTHER WORLD. By St. John D. Seymour, Archdeacon of Cashel and Emly. London: S.P.C.K. 1930. 6s. net.

This is a very painstaking piece of work, founded upon wide reading; and apart from any judgment we may pass upon the conclusions at which the author has arrived, it has its value as furnishing a reasonably clear summary of certain Irish and Latin texts remote from the ken of the general reader, as well as for its abundance of bibliographical references and its excellent index. Much of the material, we are told in the preface, has previously seen the light in papers contributed by the writer to the *Journal of Theological Studies* and to the Proceedings of learned societies. The documents which come under review are, first, the "early visions" represented mainly by those of Fursa and Laisrén; secondly, those which Archdeacon Seymour classifies under the general heading of *Imrama* or voyages, notably the *Voyage of Maelduin* and the *Voyage of the Ui Corra;* thirdly the Vision of Adamnán; fourthly the Vision of Tundal; and lastly the Vision of the Knight Owen, arising out of Owen's visit in 1153 to St. Patrick's Purgatory. We confess that the author seems to us to spend his energies rather unprofitably in the effort to trace some consistency in these crude and fantastic imaginings of horrors. Moreover we are not satisfied that sources of this class can safely be appealed to as evidence for the "belief of the Irish Church" at any period. None the less when an attempt is made to "reconstruct Irish belief with respect to Hell and the possibility of release therefrom" down to the eleventh century, we learn that:—

> It was the abode of the eternally lost, but not exclusively so, as from it souls could be released under certain conditions. Sometimes this release took place instantaneously . . . . at other times the process was slower and varied from a few days . . . to several years. As Hell was evidently conceived of as possessing purgatorial qualities, the varying lengths of time must be supposed to be proportionate to the amount of guilt incurred by each soul and which had to be purged away. Some souls, however, were compelled to remain in Hell without release until the day of Judgment, no doubt because their sins demanded that degree of purgation, after which they would be brought to Heaven.

This is, no doubt, a perfectly honest statement of what Archdeacon Seymour has found in his documents, but the suggested inference that the Irish conception of Hell in the tenth century differed fundamentally from the teaching of the Church elsewhere and from that of the present day, seems to us misleading. What is ignored is the prevalence everywhere at that date of an eschatological conception which survived for many centuries as the

result of the rather confused patristic speculations upon the punishments of the next world. Upon the eternity and the irrevocable character of the pains of the lost, the Fathers (with the exception of Origen and possibly some few others, like St. Gregory of Nyssa) were fully agreed, but they were not by any means agreed as to the point of time when the punishment of Hell in any proper sense began to take effect. The belief in the postponement of the final reprobation of the lost until Doomsday was very widely spread. The sinner after death passed to a place of suffering, or even of torment by fire, but these pains might be, and often were, only purgatorial. The place in which he suffered was a place of waiting, it was the Hell to which even the Saviour Himself descended, and the lot of those confined there varied greatly. This view, though rejected by many, was tolerated and widely current, and it explains how such stories as that of the release of Trajan from "Hell" by St. Gregory the Great, or of the mitigation of the pains of the lost on Sundays of which we read in Prudentius, obtained ready acceptance. Finality, in this conception, was not reached until the day of the general judgment. This older and rather confused eschatology may have lingered on longer in Ireland, which was relatively remote from the centre of Christendom, than it did in France or even in England, but it was never peculiarly Irish. Archdeacon Seymour had no occasion to touch upon the "Vision of the Monk of Eynsham" (1196), which is later than those of Tundal or Owen, but in the said very interesting record of the trance of an English monk we have a description of tortured souls whose greatest punishment was not to know whether their pains would ever end. In other words they were left in ignorance whether they were in Purgatory or in Hell, understanding only that in any case no relief could come to them before Doomsday. The possibility of this uncertainty as to their ultimate salvation in souls undergoing purgation, though admitted by Denis the Carthusian, by St. Bridget of Sweden, by St. Lydwine and others, is no longer regarded by theologians as a tenable view. H. T.

THE CRUSADES. Iron Men and Saints. By Harold Lamb. London: Thornton Butterworth. 1930. 10s. 6d.

MR. LAMB has an eye for the picturesque in history. The world has been surfeited with economic and sociological explanations of what is at bottom a personal story; and now we are having the reaction with a vengeance. Biographies sell better than fashionable novels, and Mr. Lamb is one of the many who has discovered

that there is a mint of money to be made out of old-fashioned materials of history. First Genghis Khan and Tamerlane; now the Crusades, in what is announced as a series of volumes on the subject. The author has been fortunate in his start. In all the mass of contemporary and all-but contemporary narratives of the crusading movement, few chronicles are so vivid and so instructive as the four or five principle chronicles from which every historian of the First Crusade must draw the bulk of his material. Mr. Lamb's book has the great merit that he quotes liberally from the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Histories* of Fulcher and Raymond and Anna Comnena, and from standard chronicles of the period such as Ordericus Vitalis. In addition, he has heaped his pages with picturesque details as to mediaeval customs and costume and food and the like. He will even quote from the Rule of St. Benedict—but, characteristically enough, he is chiefly interested in the Saint's sensible provisions as to the consumption of wine.

That is indeed the main fault of this freshly written wok. The picturesque is everywhere too apparent. Deeper causes are neglected and scientific criticism is almost wholly lacking. One vital point may be taken as an example of many similar defects. How many thousands marched from Western and Central Europe on the great Voyage of God? Mr. Lamb is content to examine the matter in a brief appendix, where he gives various wholly in sufficient arguments for his belief that the figures given by the ancient chroniclers are substantially correct. It is a matter which necessarily affects the whole of his narrative, but Mr. Lamb has never troubled to face it as it must be faced. And his account of the actions of the mediaeval Popes, though superficially sympathetic, is as lacking in the critical faculty which is necessary for historical truth. But there will be many young readers rightly grateful to Mr. Lamb for his cleanly written and picturesque narrative. A. G.

SPAIN. ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD. By Catherine Moran, Tutor to the Spanish Royal Family. Boston: The Stratford Company. 1930. Pp. 266. $3.00

JOHANNA DIE WAHNSINNIGE. Von Ludwig Pfandl. Freiburg: Herder. 1930. Pp. 204. M. 6.80.

Spanish history, as Mr. Chesterton points out in a delightful introduction to Miss Moran's book, is essentially a story of heroes. The heroes, no doubt, like their kind in every land, were subject to human errors and human weaknesses, but they were free at least from frivolousness and vulgarity. They paid homage to the

noblest ideals, and they sought to put them into practice mightily. Their achievements, it can be said without fear of contradiction, bear comparison in interest and inspiration with those of any European nation. All the keener is our regret that the cause of truth has been so ill-served by the " histories " of Spain written in the English language. The dark shadow of the sixteenth century lies heavily over these. England, then a small and struggling state, was challenged in her very existence by the colossal power of Spain. She survived as if by miracle, but hatred of the dreaded foe was left as a fundamental part of her national tradition.

Miss Moran's well-planned, well-written, well-illustrated summary of Spanish history is entirely free from racial and religious prejudices and is therefore doubly welcome. She tells us just what happened in the peninsula since the earliest times, without panegyric and without vituperation. All that can be said against her book is that it errs on the side of brevity. Who would not like to learn more of the first Carthaginian settlements in Spain, of Hamilcar and the incomparable Hannibal, of the great Roman pro-consuls, of the Visigoths and their kingdoms, of Norse depredations in an age when the same barbarians were wreaking havoc within our own shores, of the Arab principalities, with their highly developed literary culture, of Portugal in its infancy, of the towns which began to spring up like mushrooms in the mediaeval period, of the origins of the famous pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, of the gradual re-conquest of the country from the Mahommedans, of the rise of Salamanca and other universities ? What a red-letter day in the annals of the Christian world was January 6th, 1492, when Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors, fell to the Catholic Sovereigns ! In the same year comes the discovery of America. Then come the doings of the " Gran Capitán " Gonzalo de Córdoba, of Cortés and Pizarro, of saints and missioners without number, the foundation of Alcalá, the glories which began under Charles V and reached their culminating point under Philip II. Spain in that era was the first power in Europe ; her army was the finest in the world ; her colonies the richest and the fairest ; her seats of learning the most celebrated ; for at Salamanca alone there were more than six thousand students. When misfortunes came Spain bore them bravely, and perhaps it is not altogether her fault that she had to bear them long. A short account of the progress under Primo de Rivera closes this inspiring book. Miss Moran has done her duty well by a great people, to whom no higher compliment can be paid than the wish that, having achieved security and success, they may continue to live true to themselves.

Dr. Pfandl's monograph on Johanna the Mad of Aragon, wife of Philip the Fair of Austria and mother of Charles V, must rank among the most dramatic pieces of historical writing produced in Germany. The author is indeed to be envied, for he combines in his person the almost incompatible gifts of profound scholarship and brilliant style. In the centre of his story stands the tragic figure of Johanna, but the work is really wider in its scope, for it gives the salient features of Spanish history during the two centuries, A.D. 1400–1600. Dr. Pfandl's method is to provide compressed concurrent biographies of the personages who played leading parts. All is colour; all is life. The reader is carried breathless from page to page as if he were in the spell of some great novelist. But the historical character of the work is never forgotten. We see Spain as it was before the advent of the Catholic Sovereigns, the aims and achievements, trials and disappointments of these, the legacy, good and bad, which they bequeathed to their successors. Chief among the sorrows of the royal pair was the tendency towards lunacy which the Queen transmitted to her descendants from her mother, Isabel of Portugal, who had married John II of Castile in A.D. 1447. Johanna, eldest surviving daughter of the Sovereigns, fell a victim to this disease soon after her marriage into the house of Austria. Her greatgrandson, Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip II, was overcome by the same fate, and lived and died miserably. Dr. Pfandl gives a detailed "psychiatric" analysis of the complaint, from which (he holds) even Philip II was not entirely free. In this way, he thinks, the need of Philip for a short eternity of deliberation before he could make up his mind is to be explained.

To anyone who would understand the age, the Habsburgs in the Peninsula, the growth and decline of Spanish power, this work will prove invaluable. By way of criticism it must be added that here and there the book would benefit by a little more reserve. The Muse of History can but gain in dignity if chambermaids keep their professional secrets. Nor is the author wise who impoverishes himself by paying too heavy a toll to modernity.

J. R.

Poetry

THE POEMS OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. Edited with Notes by Robert Bridges. Second Edition with an Appendix of Additional Poems and a Critical Introduction by Charles Williams. London: Milford. 1930. 7s. 6d.

So few poets survive their own revivals that this new edition, following thus closely on the publication of Fr. Lahey's fine

monograph, will be welcomed by the lovers of Gerard Hopkins. It has saved him probably from being the craze of a season, for since the publication of the first edition in 1918 his admirers, though ardent and discriminating, have been all too few. Now he bids fair to win wide and permanent devotion.

The second edition is as scholarly and efficient as the first and is more worthily produced. Mr. Charles Williams in a suggestive introduction describes Hopkins' characteristic as an effort "to recognise and explain both the singleness and the division of the accepted universe." It is a pity that he did not explain this sentence, for in it he seems to detect just the dominant quality of the poet. Gerard Hopkins did indeed try to relate all things to One, and has left us the record in his poems of those mole-like burrowings after God with which his thoughts tunnelled the universe. And it was the very intensity of his desire to find that made him concentrate so raptly upon the slightest external detail of his subject; for he gathered tidings of his quest from all things. The zeal that the scholatics applied to the exact analysis of the subtlest concepts, was only equal to that with which he endeavoured to appreciate in its finest shades his emotional experience, and to specify it to others in his expression. Hence his neologisms, his contorted grammar, his startling and baffling metric. He required new instruments to express new discoveries, reactions of the mind to which no predecessor amongst men had ever adverted. One example will suffice. The following is a stanza from *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, a poem of the same order as *Adonais* (I dare not say more lest I scandalise the large band of the unfaithful).

> I am soft sift
> In an hourglass—at the wall
> Fast, but mined with a motion, a drift,
> And it crowds and it combs to the fall;
> I steady as water in a well, to a poise, to a pane,
> But roped with, always, all the way down from the tall
> Fells or flanks of the voel, a vein
> Of the gospel proffer, a pressure, a principle, Christ's gift.

It portrays the poet, reflecting in repose on the wreck, his recoiling mind curbed by the thoughts of faith to accept the tragedy. "Voel" we are told is a proper name used generically, as who should say a parnassus or an etna. Now let us by some additions and transpositions make prose of the last four lines: I steady to a poise as water in a well steadies to a pane, but yet I proffer a principle, Christ's gift, always swayed (roped), as I am by the gospel that presses upon me like a stream (vein);

as water all the way down from the steep sides of the hill [may flow into the depths of the well without shattering its outward stillness]. Now this is clearer than the poetry and keeps some of the charm, but in removing the grammatical disorder of the expression, it must be evident that I have removed the vehement, staccato movement, the sense of thoughts and feelings crowding too fast for coherent utterance. In short I keep the words but lose the passion ; I clarify the thought, but spill the poetry. After all it pays to struggle over Gerard Hopkins, as it always pays (as Jacob found) to wrestle with an angel.

The new poems here published will not add to his reputation, but they reveal his origins. His mature work is markedly non-derivative, its echoes few and faint. But in these *juvenilia* there are echoes discernible, echoes of Swinburne :—

> When a sister, born for each strong month-brother.

Of Shelley :—

> Break the box and shed the word (e.f. Break the dance and scatter the song).

Of Keats :—

> Down that dank rock o'er which their lush long tresses weep.

Of the eighteenth century :—

> Since trampled Spain by royal discord torn
> Lay bleeding, to Madrid the last they bore.

Of Wordsworth :—

> Thus Frances sighed at home, while Luke
> Made headway in the frothy deep.
> She listened how the sea-gust shook
> And then lay back to sleep.

And all that only proves the paradox that the most original poets must be rooted in the aboriginal, and draw the sap of their song from the healthy soil of tradition. A. L.

Political and Social Science

PROPERTY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. With special reference to England and Locke. By Paschal Larkin, O.S.F.C., M.A., PhD. Cork University Press. 1930. 10s. 6d.

The title of this excellent book by Dr. Larkin is not quite an accurate indication of its subject-matter. For Dr. Larkin, in fact, gives us a detailed study of eighteenth century opinion upon property nor merely in England but in France and America. Students will here find a fund of minute and accurate information not easily accessible elsewhere. There is, perhaps, an inevitable lack of unity. The subject has grown under his hand. It has implications at once philosophical, economic and historical. It

is an admirable subject for a thesis. But if this book has a fault, it is that it remains too much a thesis, and that the relation of subsequent theories to Locke is somewhat unreal and artificial.

Dr Larkin begins with a brief study of Locke's predecessors, devotes a chapter to Locke himself, and then works out elaborately the theories of property in England, America and France in the eighteenth century. His treatment is exhaustive. No writer who has anything of importance to say on the problem of property escapes his observation. And still one gets the impression that on the speculative side the eighteenth century is disappointing. Apart from Locke in England and Montesquieu and Rousseau in France, speculation is meagre.

Locke's theory of property is merely incidental to his general political theory. He devotes a single chapter to the subject in his second *Treatise of Civil Government.* From the philosophical point of view his theory is not impressive. Locke's robust commonsense too often means a neglect of all the refinements of argument. He states what seems to him immediately obvious and leaves the matter there. He is curiously blind to difficulties which seem quite obvious. He misunderstands or misrepresents his opponents' opinions, as Mr. Allen has recently shown in an admirable study of Sir Robert Filmer. Locke's views may not have been designed to meet the needs of his Whig patrons—he himself says they were not—but, if they are the result of pure reason, they do certainly fit with miraculous cunning the political requirements of his time. There are two notable points in his theory of property. First, the principle that private property is a natural right; secondly, the theory that labour is at once the origin and the justification of property. Neither of these propositions is new, and both are important. But their importance lies not in their bare statement but in an exact account of what each of them implies, and this Locke fails to give us. When Louis XIV instructs his son that the complete control of property is vested in the ruler, he is stating a proposition which is the contrary opposite to the first of Locke's principles. Locke's principle is the essence of Whig individualism. The Whigs had the property and meant to keep it, even as against the State. But the genuine problem is how these conflicting claims are to be adjusted, how far the State may legitimately interfere and so on, and on such matters Locke affords us very little enlightenment.

Nor is his theory that property originates in labour successfully thought out. It is curious that it did not seem to strike him that his Whig patrons had property and yet they toiled not

neither did they spin. Nor had their ancestors been conspicuous for industry. In any case labour is an ambiguous term. The ploughman puts his labour into the field. The cowboy who rides across a tract of country is similarly filling the land with his toil. Locke seems to have before his mind the supposition of a " state of nature," the idea of a desert island or of unoccupied land. Even to such a simple state of affairs his theory is inapplicable. Unless the first occupiers are fools Locke's condition, that " enough and as good " is left over for others, is not likely to be verified.

As Dr. Larkin admirably shows, the social implications of property received little attention in England during this period. Economic conditions in France brought them more inevitably to men's minds. Dr. Larkin's account of what he calls " The French Contrast " is full of interest. It is much too minute to be followed here. Of these writers one at all events was immensely influential. But Rousseau's influence is in no sense a result of his logic. He is at once an individualist and an upholder of state-absolutism. Man in the state of nature needs no property. The individual who first encloses a field, calls it his own, and finds persons foolish enough to believe him is the founder of civil society. This is one side of his theory. But in the *Contrat Social* he places supreme authority in the state, and deems it a good thing. Out of Rousseau was to emerge many of the theories of the Revolution ; but he was the inspiration also of Hegel and the Prussian theory. He had the faculty, which is absent from Locke's uninspired prose, of rousing men's minds to a sense of the injustice of a world which was destined soon to pass away. But, perhaps, it is in the lesser men that one can feel more truly the pulse of the age, and it is in his treatment of these that Dr. Larkin's skill and learning will be of value to the student of the eighteenth century.

D. O'Keeffe.

DIE STAATS—UND SOZIALLEHRE DES HL. THOMAS VON AQUIN. Von Otto Schilling. Munich : Max Hueber. 1930. M.13.50.

DER KIRCHLICHE EIGENTUMSBEGRIFF. Von Otto Schilling. Freiburg : Herder. 2nd edition 1930. M.2.80.

KATHOLISCHE STAATSLEHRE UND VOLKSDEUTSCHE POLITIK. Von Godehard Josef Ebers. Freiburg : Herder. 1930. 5.60M. ; 7M. (Cloth).

THE THINGS THAT ARE NOT CAESAR'S. By Jacques Maritain. London : Sheed and Ward. 1930. 7s. 6d.

These four books are an indication of the interest now taken in Catholic political and social theory. Otto Schilling's scholarly

work is already familiar to us—particularly in his admirable book on the political theories of St. Augustine. And it may be said at once that the present book on the political and social theories of St. Thomas is the best book that has hitherto appeared on this subject, and is destined to become an indispensable work of reference for all serious students. It has all the thoroughness which we associate with the best German scholarship.

There is, amongst the writings of St. Thomas, no systematic account of his political theories. Of the *De Regimine Principum* only the first book and a small part of the second book (Cap. I-4) can be regarded as genuine. The Commentary on Aristotle's Politics is unfinished, and in any case it can be taken only in a very limited way as an expression of St. Thomas's own views. As a result the political and social theories of St. Thomas must be reconstructed from incidental references in his theological writings. In Dr. Schilling's book this task is accomplished with wonderful skill and completeness. Nothing of any importance is omitted; and, what is perhaps of even greater value, there are none of those exaggerations and mistakes of emphasis which we sometimes find in works whose aim is mainly polemical.

Dr. Schilling's book is valuable in another way. Many of St. Thomas's theories are difficult to understand, unless one is familiar with his sources, with the historical background out of which they emerge. An admirable instance of this, to take a single example, is his elaborate account of the Law of Nature and the *Jus Gentium*. This account is scarcely intelligible apart from a careful study of the sources—Roman writers like Cicero and Seneca, the early Fathers, the Civilians and Canonists, the writings of St. Isidore of Seville and others. The exact and minute scholarship of Dr. Schilling will be invaluable to students on all such points.

Finally it should be pointed out that Dr. Schilling's book is not merely exegetical. He is a convinced Thomist. He is dealing with theories whose interest is not merely or chiefly historical, and his "Würdigung der thomistischen Staatslehre" derives an additional power and signficance from the pervading sense of scholarship which animates the whole book. His smaller book on the Theory of Property covers some of the same ground as the larger work. I cannot give an adequate criticism of it in a short review, but I should like to refer, in particular, to Dr Schilling's account of the so-called "Communism" of the Fathers. These theories have been commonly misunderstood, and it is invaluable to have an authoritative exposition of what they really mean.

The remaining two books are of a different type. They are not primarily works of erudition. They aim rather at applying to the insistent problems of the moment a living christian philosophy. The papers edited by Professor Ebers are written by distinguished Catholic scholars in Germany, who are convinced that in a christian philosophy of the State is to be found the solution of many of the questions which inevitably arise in times of revolutionary change. Many Catholic thinkers in Germany thought that the period of stress through which their country had to pass after the war presented a unique opportunity for Catholic philosophy. What was needed, they felt, was not so much the learned exposition of texts or exact historical scholarship—valuable as these undoubtedly are—but rather an imaginative and compelling philosophy of life, a vivid realisation of the fact that Catholicism was in possession of the truth and needed merely an adequate and convincing exposition.

This is precisely what M. Jacques Maritain has given to France. It is difficult briefly to express the nature of M. Maritain's achievement. He is a Thomist *pur sang*. There is a certain paradox in his extraordinary popularity; for he is not by any means an easy writer, and he makes no apparent effort to accommodate his teaching to "babes and sucklings." Nor do we find in him any trace of the apologist, any desire to soften off opinions or theories which may seem "hard sayings" to the worldly. What is impressive in his writing is its very austerity. He is immensely persuasive; but his persuasiveness is derived from an intricate organism of argument into which every judgment is compacted and in which it finds its unerring place and function.

The present book, "La Primauté du Spirituel"—of which Fr. Scanlan gives us an excellent translation—was occasioned by the condemnation of the *Action Française* by the Holy See. It has, however, an interest altogether apart from its occasion; for M. Maritain gives us here the whole philosophy of the relation between Church and State. I may point out that the English edition has a peculiar value, because in a special preface M. Maritain defines more clearly than in the body of the book his attitude towards history. M. Maritain stands for the *indirect* power of the Church in temporal affairs—a theory to which Cardinal Bellarmine first gave precise formulation. Bellarmine himself was inclined to overestimate the support which his theory had received from earlier writers. But M. Maritain maintains, with considerable plausibility, that, whatever individual theologians may have thought, the official actions and pronouncements of

the Church have always been inspired by this theory. Since the Church does not exist so to speak *in vacuo*, it inevitably impinges upon temporal affairs. Even its most positively spiritual pronouncements may have curious temporal effects. If it insists on honesty in buying and selling, it may influence world markets ; and when it preaches monotheism, it may cause the financial ruin of the sellers of idols. It can and must and will interfere in temporal affairs. But it is of great importance, both for speculative and practical purposes, adequately to express the *raison d'être* of this interference. This has never been better done than in this brilliant little book of M. Maritain—the most interesting, I think, of all his books for the average reader. The problem is always with us. The claim of the modern state to be omnicompotent inevitably leads to collisions. And it is in moments of quietness that we must realise the perennial wisdom of the Church which applies to historical situations, always varying and unique, principles which are identical and never in the long run inadequate. D. O'Keeffe

Miscellaneous

LA TRANSFORMATION DE LA GEOGRAPHIE POLITIQUE DE L'IRLANDE AU XVIIe SIECLE, dans les cartes et essais anthropogéographiques de Sir William Petty. Par Y. M. Goblet, D. ès L. Tome I, 415 pp. ; Tome II, 376 pp.

LES NOMS DE LIEUX IRLANDAIS dans l'oeuvre géographique de Sir William Petty. Par le mème. Pp. 127. Paris : Berger-Levrault. 1930. 50s.

To his preceding works on Irish issues, works deservedly remarkable, Monsieur Y.-M. Goblet has now, as the fruit of sustained research, added this outstanding contribution to the historical geography of Ireland. Its importance far exceeds all previous investigations of the topographical results of the conquest and confiscation inseparably associated with the name of Cromwell. The works of Harding, of Larcom and of Prendergast, even taken collectively, hardly attain the significance alike and the quality of this masterly and exhaustive exploration of how Irish topography suffered under the manipulations of Sir William Petty, Cromwell's Surveyor-General, the founder of the territorial fortunes of the Lansdowne family in Ireland.

A student, as he acknowledges in most appreciative terms, of d'Arbois de Jubainville, M. Goblet could not approach this elaborate technical description and appraisal of Petty's work and

methods without setting out fully the history of racial occupations and of preceding descriptions and surveys of Ireland. Though most of the territorial divisions have been entered and occupied by conquest done three times over between 1170 and 1670, the Gael survives and holds his own in Ireland. Most of all has the Gaelic hold on place-names been tenacious and effective. These three sections of this great doctoral thesis are the record of one man's work in putting on paper, as the agent of confiscation and redistribution for the Cromwellian Englishry in Ireland, of the place-names of the country. The maps of Sir William Petty contain some 30,000 place-names at the least, almost altogether Gaelic names, set down phonetically or otherwise without real intelligence, in the years 1654-58. M. Goblet's main research topic has been naturally sought in these names, as recorded on the Barony Maps of the Commonwealth Surveyors. As is well known, he had the fullest existing contemporary set of these maps at Paris, owing to their capture at sea towards the close of the War of the Spanish Succession. To an exhaustive discussion of all these materials he has added much beside, on the whole life and work of Petty; and on the technique—if it can so be called—of Petty's reproduction of place-names he has added a valuable supplemental brochure to his two main volumes.

Too much praise cannot be given to the thoroughness and fidelity of this notable achievement; and it is to be hoped that its necessary complement, the lists of place-names themselves, will without undue delay be made available by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Not a few students of these special subjects, it may be, will form the opinion that the scientific character of this Confiscation survey, like the life, character and general status of Petty himself, have been rated too highly by M. Goblet. But for any such very natural evaluation due allowance can easily be made; for the exhibit of sources and of references is ample and candid. It is perhaps of more importance to bear in mind that the text of the Civil Survey of April—September, 1654, had great and universal influence on the record of place-names as set down on the Petty Baronial Maps. Since that Civil Survey was really the work of the "natives," the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman juries of inquest, gentlemen who knew their baronies thoroughly well, it necessarily takes entire precedence, as a documentary source, of anything in the Down Survey that superseded it. It was superseded because as to place-names, tenures, divisions, descriptive particulars of lands, it was altogether too ample for the rougher needs of the agents of confiscation. Hence the large sections of the Civil Survey of 1654, which remain to us in

authentic copies of the text quite recently made as documents of record, must take entire precedence of all the cruder work achieved under Petty's direction. As the last great record of Gaelic times concerning the veritable land of Ireland, the large sections of that essentially Irish record that survive are now to be published, county by county and barony by barony. They will do much to amplify even M. Goblet's massive achievements. T. C.

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE. By Hugh Pope, O.P., S.T.M., D.S.Scr. Vol. II, The Old Testament. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. New edition re-written. 1930. 7s. 6d.

Father Pope's "Aids" have become very well-known—though not as well-known as they deserve—in Catholic seminaries and other schools of theology since the work first appeared in 1913. It is, therefore, scarcely necessary to describe this new edition at length. It is, however, very necessary to point out that we have here a new edition which is almost a new work. For the original volume of 465 pages on the Old Testament has been rewritten in three volumes, each as long as the original, of which the first appeared in 1926. The third has yet to come.

The present volume consists of critical introductions to each and all the books of the Old Testament. Not all these introductions are cast in the same mould, but each book is dealt with in a way suited to its character. Thus the introduction to Genesis consists of sections on the Theme of the Book, Analysis of its contents, the historical value of Chs. I-XI, Babylonian accounts of the Creation etc., the Age of the Patriarchs, Principles of interpretation of these early narratives, Decisions of the Biblical Commission, Bibliography.

Throughout the author has borne in mind the results, negative and positive, of modern biblical criticism. He states the critical views; but, though he sometimes subjects them to a severe counter-criticism (as witness pp. 74-80 on Deuteronomy and pp. 299-304 on the unity of Isaias), he does not profess to provide ready-made answers (see Introd. p. ix). His method is usually to state the Catholic position and the rationalist or modernist views side by side. Indeed he is chary and rightly so of offering definite solutions for biblical problems. See for instance the short section on the Age of the Patriarchs. His discussion of the historical and literary character of the early chapters of Genesis is a masterpiece of careful and cautious exposition.

The whole work presents an immense mass of detail based on very wide reading, the fruit of long and careful study, and

of sound scholarship. The well-balanced judgment and clear reasoning of the passages devoted to criticism and argument give the student a sense of confidence and intellectual satisfaction. It need scarcely be insisted that the book is indispensable to any serious library.

S. J. B.

Books received

ADAM, KARL ... Christ our Brother. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
AIGRAIN, RENE ... Religious Music. (Sands, 5/-).
ALOYSIUS, FATHER ... The Voice of the Church. (Gill, 5/-).
(ANONYMOUS) ... A Spiritual Pilgrimage. (Longmans, 7/6).
The World and the Cloister. Sister Teresa Eletta of Florence. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).
ARCHER, ETHEL ... Phantasy and other Poems. (Vine Press, 3/6).
ATTWATER, DONALD ... Prayers from Eastern Liturgies. (BurnsOates, 4/-).
Catholic Encylopaedic Dictionary. (Cassell, 25s.).
AUGUSTIN, SAINT ... La Cité de Dieu. Extraits contenant toute la doctrine du Saint Docteur. (Aubanel Père, 35 fr.).
BEVENOT, HUGO ... Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes. Die Makkabäerbücher. (Bonn: Hanstein. M.9.60).
BINNS, L. ELLIOTT ... Innocent III. (Methuen, 6/-.
BLOUNT, CHARLES ... Half-hours with S. John's Gospel. (Burns Oates,3/6)
BONSIRVEN, JOSEPH ... On the Ruins of the Temple. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
BRIAN-CHANINOV, N. ... The Russian Church. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
BRILIOTH, YNGVE ... Eucharistic Faith and Practice. (S.P.C.K., 12/6).
BROWN, STEPHEN ... Novels by Catholic Writers. (America Press, $0.50)
BURKE, JOHN ... The Office of Compline. (Desclée, pp. 54).
CAMM, BEDE ... ... Le Bienheureux John Roberts, Moine et Martyr. (Desclée De Brouwer, 15 fr.).
De l'Anglicanisme au Monachisme. (Same, 5 fr.).
CAUSSADE, R. P. ... Bossuet, Maître d'Oraison. Introduction et notes par Henri Bremond. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).
COLONNA, PRINCE ... Les Soviets en Chine. (Desclée De Brouwer, 7 fr.).
COLUM, PADRAIC ... Old Pastures. Poems. (Macmillan, 6/-).
CUNNINGHAM, CANON ... Penal Mass and other Poems. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
D'ARCY, HAL ... Poems. (Hodges Figgis, pp. 191).
DEBOUT, JACQUES ... My Sins of Omission. (Sands, 2/6).
D'ISNE, Y. ... ... Auguste Magne. (Lethielleux, 5 fr.).
DOOLEY, BERNARD ... The Servant of the King. Legend of S. Christopher. (Bruce Publishing Co., pp. 98).
DOWNEY, COLUMBA ... Violet Blossoms. (Gill, 2/6).
DUESBERG, HILAIRE ... Apologie. (Desclée De Brouwer, 18 fr.).
ELLIS, JOHN TRACY ... Anti-papal Legislation in Medieval England, 1066-1377. (Washington, pp. 137).
ERSKINE OF MARR, R. MacBeth. Sketch of the Historical Figure. (Inverness: Carruthers, 5/-).
FEDERER, HEINRICH ... In Emmet's Days. (Gill, 3/-).
FEY, MOTHER CLARE ... Thoughts for Meditation. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
GALDOS, ROMUALDUS ... Cursus Scripturae Sacrae. Commentarius in librum *Tobit*. (Lethielleux, 40 fr.).
GOUGAUD, LOUIS ... Anciennes Coutumes Claustrales. (Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, pp. 121).
GOYAU, GEORGES ... L'Eglise en Marche. (Editions Spes, 12 fr.).
GRISAR, HARTMANN ... Martin Luther. Life and Work. (Herder, 17/6).
GWYNN, DENIS ... O'Connell and Ellen Courtney. (Blackwell, 3d.).
HARRISON, G. B. ... Second Elizabethan Journal. (Constable, 24/-).
HEGEMANN, WERNER ... Napoleon. (Constable, 18/-).

Hodgson, Geraldine	Office Psalms. From Rolle's *Psalter* and S. Augustine's *Enarrationes*. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
Honnef, Johannes ...	Die Botschaft des Wortes Gottes. Homilien auf die Sonntage. (Herder, M.5.60).
Hunter-Blair, Sir D.	More Memories and Musings. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Hurtevent, Sidoine ...	L'Unité de l'Eglise. (Bonne Presse, 12 fr.).
Jarrett, Bede ...	House of Gold. Sermons. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
Joret, F. D. ...	L'Enfance Spirituelle. (Editions du Cerf),
Julien, Mgr. ...	Les Leçons d'un grand Evêque. (Vitte, 24 fr.).
Jullian, Camille ...	Au Seuil de notre Histoire. (Boivin, 20 fr.).
Kerr, Cecil ...	Child's Book of Great Popes. (Longmans, 2/6).
King Archdale ...	Notes on the Catholic Liturgies. (Longmans, 21/-).
Lacoste, E.	Le P. Yves Hamon. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).
Lagardere, Jean ...	Semailles dernières. (Aubanel Fils, 12 fr.).
L'Ermite, Pierre ...	Le Monsieur en gris. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).
Lippert, Peter ...	Die Kirche Christi. (Herder, M.3.50 ; M.5 (cloth).
Luddy, Ailbe ...	Life of Saint Malachy. (Gill, 5/-).
McDonald, Bishop ...	The Priesthood and Sacrifice. (C.T.S. of Canada).
Mackinnon, James ...	The Historic Jesus. (Longmans, 16/-).
Madden, Marie R, ...	Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain. (Fordham University Press, $4.00).
Magennis, P. E. ...	For Old Times' Sake. (Gill, 5/-).
Maritain, Jacques ...	Religion et Culture. (Desclée De Brouwer, 7 fr.).
Martindale, C. C. ...	The Mind of the Missal. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
	What think ye of Christ ? (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
Maryel	Carnet de Maman. (Bonne Presse, pp.195).
Masson, V. E. ...	The Christian Life and the Spiritual Life. Introduction to Ascetical Theology. (Sands 3/6).
Montgomery, M. ...	Studies in the Age of Goethe. (Oxford Press, 7/6).
Mueller, Franciscus	Origo divino-apostolica doctrinae evectionis B. Virginis ad gloriam quoad corpus. (Rauch, M.6).
Norman, Mrs. G. ...	God's Jester. Life and Martyrdom of Father Michael Pro, S.J. (Longmans, 7/6).
O Conaire, Padraic ...	Fearfeasa MacFeasa. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Peers, E. Allison ...	Studies of Spanish Mystics. (Sheldon Press, 18/-).
Poussin, L. de la V.	Le Dogme du Bouddhisme. (Beauchesne, 15 fr.).
Puniet, Jean de ...	The Mass. Origin and History. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
Rambaud, J.	Grandes Figures de Prêcheurs. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
Reinach, Salomon ...	Orpheus. History of Religions. (Routledge, 15/-).
Rivet, Auguste ...	Le Patrimoine légal du Culte et des Oeuvres catholiques. (Bonne Presse, 15 fr.).
Rope, H. E. G. ...	Matthew Parker's Witness against Continuity. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
Roulin, E. A. ...	Vestments and Vestures. A Manual of Liturgical Art. (Sands, 15/-).
Ryan, Frederick ...	The House of the Temple. (Burns Oates, 25/-).
Sale, Antoine de la	Little John of Saintré. (Routledge, 15/-).
Salo, Mattia da ...	The Sufferings of Christ. (Sheed & Ward, 6/-).
Smith, Walter G. ...	Le Père Fidèle de la Croix.(Aubanel Père, 20 fr.).
Tempest, Norton ...	Rhythm of English Prose. (Cambridge Press, 6/-).
Ter Haar, Francis ...	De Matrimoniis Mixtis. (Marietti, L.11).
Thouvignon, P. ...	L'Ame féminine. (Lethielleux, 15 fr.).
Wauchope, Hersey ...	Marie Eustelle Harpain. (Sands, 2/6).
Williams, Watkin ...	The Mysticism of S. Bernard. (Burns Oates 3/6)
Wilson, Edmund ...	Axel's Castle. A Study in the Literature of 1870–1930. (Scribner, 10/6).
Wright, F. A. ...	A History of Latin Literature from the fourth to the seventeenth century. (Routledge, 18/-).
Zorell, Franciscus ...	Lexicon Graecum Novi Testamenti. Editio altera retractata. (Lethielleux, 150 fr.).
(Various Authors) ...	If it had happened otherwise. Lapses into imaginary History. (Longmans, 21/-).

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1930-31

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace, or to the Medical School, Cecilia Street. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace and in the Medical School, Cecilia Street, are open daily.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1825

Subscribed Capital, 100,000 Shares of £20 each, £2,000,000

Paid up Capital..... £500,000. | Reserve Fund..... £690,000

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, ESQ., Chairman.

THOMAS LEVINS MOORE, ESQ.
PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY, ESQ.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN, ESQ.
WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN, ESQ.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR, ESQ.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 26th day of January, 1931.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1930, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£55,260	17	2
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	32,132	2	3
	£87,392	19	5
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows viz. :—			
In payment (subject to deduction of Income Tax) of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, (£31,250), and a Bonus of One per cent: (£5,000) for the year 1930	36,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000	0	0
To next Account	36,142	19	5
	£87,392	19	5

The Reserve Fund now stands at £690,000

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN and MR. CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

A Sub-Office has been opened in Ballybay, Co: Monaghan.

By Order of the Board,
ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12th January, 1931.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1930.** Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	924,789 18 7
Reserve Fund	690,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz. :—	
Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ... 439,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans and other Government Stocks ...	5,771,878 19 6
Less : Held by the Bank ... 67,351 0 0		Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	230,685 11 3
	371,649 0 0		6,927,354 9 4
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,714,991 15 2	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,208,725 19 7
Sundry Agents	19,772 1 4	,, Sundry Agents	23,157 14 1
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	7,767 7 9	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	222,335 0 8
Profit and Loss Account ... £87,392 19 5			
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0			
	77,392 19 5		
	£13,381,573 3 8		£13,381 573 3 8

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1930.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	102,630 3 1	By Balance from last Account ...	32,132 2 3
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	157,891 0 3
Dividend to be paid in February, 1931, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 31,250 0 0			
Bonus of 1% for year 1930 do. 5,000 0 0			
Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0			
Balance to next Acct. 36,142 19 5			
	77,392 19 5		
	£190,023 2 6		£190,023 2 6

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have uired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing fit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on t December, 1930, is in excess of the amount at which they nd in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and ls in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's airs according to the best of my information and the explana- ns given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company d the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
BLIN, 12th January, 1931. Chartered Accountant, Auditor

MARTIN F. MAHONY
T. LEVINS MOORE,
CHARLES E. LAMBKIN, } *Directors*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager*

Telegrams: "WATT, DUBLIN." Telephone: 22593 DUBLIN.

GEORGE WATT, LTD.

Engineers and Millwrights,

Soho Works, Bridgefoot Street,

DUBLIN.

Estimates given for Repair and Supply for all Classes of Machinery.

CLERYS TAILORING

Clerys Cutters make perfect Clothes. Never a misfit. Suits from 5 Guineas upwards.

Clerys specialise in Clerical and Canonical Garments. Their long experience includes Tailoring to the principal Ecclesiastical Colleges in Ireland.

CLERYS RESTAURANT is the largest and best equipped RESTAURANT in IRELAND. Meals of every kind served all day long in comfortable luxurious surroundings. EVERY Room in the Restaurant fully licensed. Lifts to all floors.

CLERY & CO., LTD., O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

IRISH MARGARINE IS THE BEST

STOCK THE BRANDS THAT SELL

LEANDER	**at 1/- per lb.**	**RETAIL**
Sweet Lavender	**at 10d.**	**„ „**
Snow Cap	**at 8d.**	**„ „**

DOWDALL, O'MAHONEY & CO., LTD.

(Proprietors of the famous "Black Swan" Butter)

UNION QUAY, CORK, and 29-30 FLEET STREET, DUBLIN.

OUR TEAS

Are the pick of the Market, are unvarying in quality and give universal satisfaction.

Prices: 1/4, 1/6, 1/8, 1/10, 2/-, 2/2, 2/4, 2/6, 2/8, 2/10, 3/- & 3/2.

China Teas at 2/8 and 3/2 per lb.

BECKER BROS., Ltd.,

8 SOUTH GREAT GEORGE'S ST.,
And 17 NORTH EARL ST., - - DUBLIN
'Phone 21172

THE FOREMOST FIRM FOR

CHURCH FURNISHING

GALLERIES	CONFESSIONALS
PORCHES	BENCHES
ORGAN LOFTS	PULPITS
ALTARS	PEDESTALS
ALTAR RAILS	PRIE-DIEUS

STATIONS OF THE CROSS

ETC., ETC.

C. BULL, Ltd.

21 SUFFOLK STREET, DUBLIN

FARRELL'S

Telephone 43426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years.

DUBLIN

FOR SACRISTY OR HALL

There is no more reliable clock made than our modern Regulator. It has a 7 inch silvered dial, strikes the hours and half hours on a deep bass gong, and is fitted in a Walnut Case 32 inches long.

The price is 63/-, In Polished Mahogany Case £5.

Inspection cordially invited.

GANTER BROS. Watchmakers, Jewellers and Silversmiths,

Established 1856. **63 SOUTH GEORGE'S STREET, DUBLIN.**

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS.

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order. Our Service and our Prices will please you. "Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

By Royal Warrant
To His Majesty King George V.
To His Late Majesty King Edward VII.

By Special Appointment
To His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant,
And the Officers' Messes throughout Ireland.

McDONOGH & CO.,

VICTUALLERS,

11 & 12 CHATHAM STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephones: 21384 and 21385. Telegrams: "McDonogh, Chatham St., Dublin."

LAWN MOWERS : GARDEN VASES : WOOD TRELLIS : PRIMUS STOVES : WATERING POTS : INDIA RUBBER HOSE : GARDEN SEATS : WATER BARROWS.

GLEESON, O'DEA & CO., Ltd.

21 & 22, Christchurch Place

DUBLIN, C4.

Telephone: DUBLIN 51073 (2 Lines.)

TODD, BURNS & CO.

LIMITED.

High-Class TAILORING

TO ORDER.

SUITS and OVERCOATS

READY TO WEAR.

Gentlemen's OUTFITTING

IN ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Furniture, Carpets, Linoleums

IN BEST QUALITIES.

MARY STREET, DUBLIN.

BEST HOUSE COALS. BEST GAS COKE.

Dublin General Steam Shipping Co.

Limited,

COAL IMPORTERS,

18 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephone: Dublin 22167 (2 Lines). Telegrams: "WALLSEND," DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824.

Thomas, William AND John **Kelly,** **Dublin.**

89, LOWER GARDINER STREET.

Offices: 1 & 2, WESTMORELAND STREET, DUBLIN

(NEXT BANK OF IRELAND).

We respectfully solicit from the HIERARCHY and CLERGY a continuance of their valued patronage for the

Pure Altar Wine

imported by us for the use of the Altar, and which we have for three generations supplied throughout Ireland, England, and the Colonies.

Price per dozen (Bottles and Carriage included) on application.

2/- per dozen allowed for Altar Wine Bottles when returned in good condition, carriage paid.

In other WINES we hold a large and well-assorted stock, together with the finest SPIRITS, both home and foreign. Lists on application.

NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER FIRM IN THE TRADE.

Telephone 21864. **Telegrams: "Threekays, Dublin."**

ASK FOR——

RATHBORNE'S . . . .

ALTAR CANDLES

Reg. No. 0379.

Guaranteed and Stamped

75%, 65% & 25% GENUINE BEESWAX.

SANCTIONED BY THE HIERARCHY.

Irish Bleached Beeswax. Sanctuary and Burning Colza Oils.

Manufactured by . . . **JOHN G. RATHBORNE, LTD.,** [Established A.D. 1488.

Candle Manufacturers, Oil Refiners, Wax Bleachers, &c.,

EAST WALL ROAD, DUBLIN.

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 21770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: ::

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
——— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

Phones—3455 and 3456 THE

Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society

LIMITED,

151 - 156 THOMAS STREET, DUBLIN

ARE SUPPLIERS OF

GROCERIES, HARDWARE, SCHOOL STATIONERY, DRAPERY, FARM AND :: :: GARDEN SEEDS TO THE :: :: PRINCIPAL COLLEGES, CONVENTS, INSTITUTIONS AND HOSPITALS AT LOWEST PRICES.

Branches: LIMERICK, BELFAST, DERRY, WATERFORD.

SCIENCE POLISHES

ARE SOLD

"ON MERIT ALONE"

MANUFACTURED BY PUNCH & CO., CORK

KENNEDY'S BREAD

FINEST QUALITY
· · · MADE · · ·

BAKERIES

124 to 130 GREAT BRITAIN STREET

AND

ST. PATRICK'S BAKERY · DUBLIN

THE Standard

THE

LEADING

CATHOLIC

PAPER

IN IRELAND

ON SALE FRIDAYS

TWOPENCE

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN